

EXAMINING THE GEOPOLITICS OF AID IN EDUCATION: A COMPARISON OF
THE UNITED STATES PEACE CORPS AND THE NIGERIA TECHNICAL AID
CORPS IN NAMIBIA

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Date 21 May 2014

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education in
Teachers College, Columbia University

2014

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ABSTRACT

EXAMINING THE GEOPOLITICS OF AID IN EDUCATION: A COMPARISON OF THE UNITED STATES PEACE CORPS AND THE NIGERIA TECHNICAL AID CORPS IN NAMIBIA

Tamara Sheree Webb

This dissertation identifies the design, purpose, and reception of two volunteer aid organizations, and examines whether any similarities and differences may be attributed to the project sponsor's geo-political designation as part of the global North or global South. Various scholars and practitioners theorize that cooperation between countries in the global South is uniquely beneficial because of shared cultural and historical ties, or similar development paths. The study specifically examined the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps(TAC) and the United States Peace Corps, two government-funded foreign teaching volunteer programs within Namibia. Utilizing a four-stage model of educational borrowing and lending adapted from David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs as the primary conceptual framework, this research comparatively explored the recipient country's attraction to the respective volunteer program, the decision to bring such volunteers into a country's education sector, the program implementation processes, and indigenization, or how the foreign volunteers are incorporated into the local teaching community.

Individual interviews were conducted with thirty-three government officials, program administrators and school leaders; and with fourteen current and former volunteers in the U.S., Nigeria, and Namibia. Document analysis accompanied the interview method.

Findings revealed clear ideological differences which impacted the attractiveness of each program to Namibia's education sector. Findings also revealed that there were striking similarities in the program mission and objectives and in the bilateral agreements governing the projects. The differences in attraction, however, contributed to stark contrasts in program implementation and indigenization, namely in operations, volunteer background, and volunteer activities in the field. A review of the data suggests geopolitical sensitivities, privilege and hierarchies in the borrowing process.

Keywords: Cross-National Transfer; Policy Borrowing and Lending; South-South Cooperation; International Volunteerism; Pan-Africanism

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Helenor and Charles Webb for your unconditional love and for your relentless support and encouragement in everything I do; to my brother and nephew, Floyd and Khaleeb Webb; to my god-children, Shervonne, Shaun, and Sheridan; and to my elders and mentors that have passed away, Mama Avis Kelly, Aunt Evangeline Carr, Dolly Ashe, and Dr. Marguerite P. LaMotte.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are numerous people and organizations that I would like to thank for their support in strengthening the intellectual integrity and quality of this dissertation and contributing to its completion. Within Namibia, the Namibia Ministry of Education Directorate of Research, Science, and Technology (DRST) under the leadership of Mr. Alfred van Kent; the Directorate of Programming and Quality Assurance (PQA); and the Directorate of Planning and Development were instrumental to my ability to gather needed documents and helped optimize my work environments. I thank Chuma Mayumbelo for helping me manage crises and for providing friendship throughout my time in the field. I thank my gracious hosts throughout my travels across Namibia - Josephine Kainge, Helena Rhodes, Desire Kambonge, Ruth Nderua, and the Katjiru Family. I thank Geniene Veii for providing me with great social and professional networks within the expat and local Namibian communities. A big shout-out goes to the Khumalo Family and Msimang Family in South Africa for providing my homes and families away from home over the past few years.

For helping to facilitate my research, adjustments, and lodging within Nigeria and increasing my knowledge of the Technical Aid Corps, I thank Dr. Wale Adebani, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, Professor Adele Jinadu, Muhammed Audu Liman, Professor Oluyele Akinkugbe, Deaconness J.O. Ayo, Folarin Ayo, Janine Farhat, Folashade Adebayo, Alex Fubara, the Directorate of the Technical Aid Corps, and the Nigeria High Commission of Windhoek.

For opening your offices and extending resources to me during my work in the U.S., I would like to thank Volunteers of America TRIO Programs, under the leadership of

Myrna Joseph; and the College Board EOC Program, under the leadership of Pamela Lamberth. For providing continuous parental love and support, I thank Pastor and Mother Greene, my godmother Valerie Claire, and Mother Loretta Swaby.

For providing a research and training foundation through work in northern Tanzania and projects over the course of my doctoral program, I thank Dr. Frances Vavrus and Dr. Lesley Bartlett, who was also an integral part of my dissertation committee. For providing advisement and feedback during the various iterations of my proposed studies, I thank Dr. Monisha Bajaj, Dr. Noah Sobe, and Dr. Rodney Hopson. For helping me maintain focus, setting the pace, and fostering the zeal for me to complete the dissertation in record-time, I thank my advisor, Dr. Gita Steiner-Khamsi.

I thank the National Forum for Black Public Administrators, the Johnnie L. Cochran, Jr./MWH Global Scholarship Selection Committee, the Columbia University Institute of African Studies, the Teachers College Department of International & Transcultural Studies, the Northwestern University Civic Education Project, and FHI 360 for providing relevant employment opportunities, financial support, and sponsorship during my studies.

To my DC sisterhood, Denise Anderson, Stacey Singleton, Lauren Davidson, and Tulani Gilyard, thanks for always being there to check-in, to provide me with an ear, a smile/laugh, a bed/couch!, a party partner, a ride, and unwavering friendship. I love you guys and couldn't have done it without you. Thanks to Tamara Swaby (T2), Donna Holder, and Janelle Greene, for providing me with a place to stay and for being the core of my NYC sisterhood for 20 years and counting. T2, your food, company and kids held me together. To my doctoral cohort, Katy de la Garza, Maria Jose Bermeo, Toni Cela Hamm, Huma Kidwai, and Briana Ronan, thanks for inspiring me with your work and

lives; I'm trying to keep up. Katy and Maria Jose, thanks for all the late nights of talking, all the open doors to your homes, all of the encouragement, and for memorable travel experiences; we all now have stories for days. Thanks to my fellow advisee and classmates, Arushi Terway and Laura Vega, for offering support and utilizing me for support in a variety of ways; these gestures were assuring and validating.

And last but not least, I thank Mr. Jonathan Blakley, for buying extra furniture and creating physical space for me to work; for ensuring that I always had the right accessories, a working internet, study break DVDs, and a go-to-fix-it specialist at physical and virtual arms reach; for delivering flowers and plants to me in even the remotest of places and at all the right times, providing an invigoration of life during my time in the field and at "home;" for the overseas visits and holidays; and for putting me first over the years. I appreciate you. TSW

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACP	African Caribbean Pacific
ADB	African Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APCD	Associate Peace Corps Director
AU	African Union
BAPA	Buenos Aires Plan of Action
CIES	Comparative and International Education Society
COS	Close of Service
CS	Combined School
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DD	Deputy Director
DTAC	Directorate of the Technical Aid Corps
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
GNI	Gross National Income
G-77	Group of 77
G15	Group of 15
HDI	Human Development Index
IVS	International Volunteer Service
JCC	Joint Coordinating Committee of the G-77 and NAM
JSC	Junior Secondary Certificate
JSS	Junior Secondary School
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LPI	Language Proficiency Interview
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NBC	Namibian Broadcasting Corporation
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIED	National Institute for Educational Development
NIIA	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NPC	National Planning Commission
NSSC	Namibian Senior Secondary Certificate
NTF	Nigeria Trust Fund
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OBE	Outcome-Based Education
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries
PAD	Planning and Development (Namibia Education Directorate)
PC/N	Peace Corps/Namibia
PCV	Peace Corps Volunteer

PQA	Programming and Quality Assurance (Namibia Education Directorate)
PSEMAS	Public Service Medical Aid Scheme
PST	Pre-Service Training
RPCV	Returned Peace Corps Volunteer
SS	Secondary School
SUPEP	Secondary and Upper Primary Education Project
SU/SSC	Special Unit on South-South Cooperation
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Economic, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VSO	Volunteer Services Organization

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

South-South cooperation can achieve results on the ground in ways that traditional development assistance may not because of countries' geographical proximity, cultural and historical ties, or similar development paths.

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, 2011 UN Day for South-South Cooperation¹

Statement of the Purpose of the Research Study

Cooperation between countries in the global South also known as South-South cooperation, while not new, has been increasingly identified as a promising development assistance strategy in education. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2009) notes “the concept of ‘the South’ was born in the aftermath of the Second World War, with the break-up of colonial empires, the increasing number of sovereign countries and the consolidation of the United Nations” (p.11). Gaining formal momentum from the Asia-Africa, or Bandung, Conference of 1955 and the development of a special United Nations unit in 1978, advocates of South-South cooperation contend that by virtue of shared histories and socio-political conditions, nations within sub-Saharan Africa, for

¹ The UN Day for South-South Cooperation was established by UN General Assembly resolution 55/220 in 2003 and first observed in 2004. The day of observation was Dec 19 from 2004 – 2012, and is now 12 September, both dates marking key events related to the 1978 Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries.

example, may provide and deliver more culturally-sensitive and relevant aid to one another, than can the United States or England, to cite examples of the “global North.” Given the tremendous diversity within and between countries, let alone regions, in regard to race, class, and ethnicity, to name a few variables, this claim merits substantiating evidence. Some scholars argue that the “boundaries between the North and the South and developed and developing are blurring and being replaced by heterogeneous and complex identity formations with individuals holding multiple affinities” (McBride & Daftary, 2005, p.9). Further, various images and myths of development and education may impact the attraction of aid from particular countries, in some instance privileging aid from the West and possibly stigmatizing or belittling aid from the global South. Empirical studies explicitly focused on the nature and reception of South-South cooperation in education, however, are few and limited. Using foreign educational assistance to the southern African country of Namibia as a case, this dissertation compares and analyzes the development, design, and implementation of teaching volunteer programs from the global South and global North.

As this research examines geopolitics of aid in education, it is important to briefly operationalize the term. There are a variety of definitions given for the term “geopolitics,” particularly dependent on the academic discipline in which the concept is applied. The origin of the term is typically linked to Swedish political scientist Rudolph Kjellén (Novelli, 2010; O Tuathail, 1997; Power, 2010). A simple working definition of the term as used in this study is the utilization of geographical imagery and terminology to describe ideological identity and difference. In the context of this dissertation,

geopolitics broadly references the combination of territorial or geographic, and strategic or political interests in defining or interpreting a phenomena or entity.

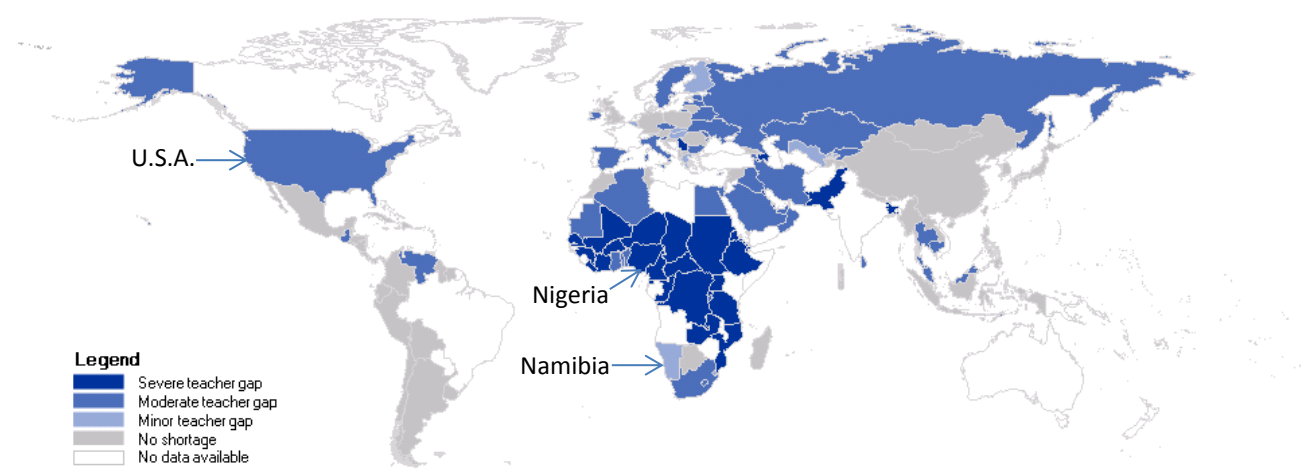
While a comprehensive review of the research methodology, including case and site selection, is reviewed in Chapter III, it is useful for readers to begin with an understanding of why Namibia was selected as the site for this research. Four primary reasons are important to highlight. First, as outlined in more depth in the following sections, Namibia is one of many countries who are actively utilizing foreign teaching volunteers. Findings may be generalizable to a larger population of recipient countries. Second, Namibia has less than twenty-five years of experience hosting foreign teaching volunteers. This relatively short history of development assistance helps frame a meaningful comparative study of various programs because it increases the potential that selected cases would have similar periods of engagement and exposure within the Namibian education sector. Indeed, Namibia began receiving U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps(TAC) teaching volunteers around the same time. These two programs were merely two of the assistance projects underway within the education sector; however, they are most similar in donor type, volunteer duration, and formal/written bilateral goals. There was also evidence suggesting that TAC was borrowing from the U.S. Peace Corps model. Next, Namibia has launched an active reform campaign for strengthening teacher professional development which provides a relevant frame through which foreign teaching assistance can be analyzed. Finally, Namibia was welcoming of the study and provided access to critical policy-makers and institutions to afford a thorough investigation.

This chapter continues with an overview of the context and background that frames the study. It introduces the reader to the situation of teacher shortages in Namibia which has, in part, led to the demand for foreign aid and international teaching volunteers in particular, then provides background information on the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, highlighting available information about the programs' work and history in Namibia. This chapter also outlines the research questions, rationale, and significance of the study; and identifies perceived limitations of the study.

Teacher Shortages and Foreign Volunteers

As shown in Figure 1, teacher shortages, an insufficient local supply of qualified teachers, in primary and secondary schools are an increasing problem all over the globe.

Figure 1. Countries facing a teacher gap, 2009



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, see Annex, Table 4.

The shortages are accelerated in part by international trends towards improving proficiency in mathematics and sciences and efforts towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (American Federation of Teachers, 2009; UNESCO, 2011). Though fueled by a diversity of root causes, the shortages have led to a variety of

common interventions, including the establishment of alternative teacher education programs, and various financial and material incentives to recruit local staff in hard-to-fill schools and subject areas (Liu, Rosenstein, Swann, & Khalil, 2008; Ng, 2003). There have also been more overtly temporary fixes such as increased foreign teacher recruitment efforts (AFT, 2009; UNESCO, 2011), which for lesser-resourced countries has typically meant foreign teacher volunteer programs. This last intervention is the focus of this dissertation.

Figure 1 demonstrates that in 2009, the U.S.A. and Nigeria had “moderate” and “severe” teacher gaps, respectively. Nonetheless, governments of both countries signed agreements to send volunteer teachers to meet Namibia’s teacher shortage, which was classified by UNESCO as “minor.” It is also worthy to note that the countries are located thousands of miles apart. This dissertation explores the logic and process of sending volunteer teachers abroad in the midst of domestic teacher shortages. This research seeks to understand the basis of the attraction of these programs and how the programs are implemented and localized.

A variety of challenges and policy considerations accompany the decision of a host country to utilize foreign aid in the form of teaching volunteers. Among the challenges are the needs for foreign teachers to adjust to recipient country environments, build community trust around the purpose of their involvement, and garner host community respect for their professional backgrounds. Traditional aid relationships involving Northern donors and Southern recipients have been criticized as hierarchical, subject to imposed conditions, less sensitive to local contexts and needs, and potentially neo-colonial in impact (Daura, 2010b; Marwa, 2010; Moyo, 2010). On the other hand,

cooperation between developing countries is promoted as a representation of cultural and political solidarity, and it is argued that these projects are more horizontal and yield mutual benefit for the cooperating entities (Abdenur, 2002; Mawdsley, 2011; Steiner-Khamisi, 2009). A central question arises, however, Is there really a difference in practice? This study will compare a North-South and a South-South international teaching volunteer project in Namibia to identify whether, how, and why the programs are similar or differently, respectively.

Namibia Situation Analysis - Teacher Shortages

The southern African country of Namibia is vast in land mass but with around 2 million citizens, it is one of the world's most sparsely populated nations. The Namib and Kalahari Deserts comprise about two-thirds of the area. While Namibia's urban areas are growing, the majority of the population currently resides in rural areas (GRN, 2011). With a gross national income per capita of US\$4,500, Namibia currently ranks as a middle-income developing country; however, with a GINI index over 0.60, it has had one of the highest wealth inequity ratings in the past ten years.² There are also severe inequities in educational achievement and literacy by ethnic group and along the urban-rural divide. Over more than a century of German and South African occupations of the country, Namibia's ethnic groups became intensely fortified and insulated based on forced segregation policies. In 1964, under apartheid legislation, black ethnic authorities were established and non-whites were forcibly moved to separate "homelands" that

² According to the CIA World Fact Book, the GINI index in 2003 was 70.7 and in 2009 was 59.7.

would limit interactions between groups and severely restrict mobility around the country (Amukugo, 1993; Cohen, 1994; O'Callaghan, 1977). At the time of independence in 1990, there were eleven separate education authorities or school systems, each serving a distinct ethnic group which spoke different languages (Amukugo, 1993; Cohen, 1994; Rowell, 1995). Afrikaans was the lingua franca for the central and southern regions of the country. English was not introduced until independence, when it was adopted as the official language.

Schooling was also differentiated in terms of content and resource allocation. Both the German and South African administrations utilized a dual system of education in Namibia, with comprehensive education for whites and inferior schooling for others. For most of the colonial period, Blacks received teacher-centered, transmission-oriented schooling, often in the mother tongue, that focused on religious instruction but also included training for domestic service, handiwork, and agriculture with schooling lasting no more than four to six years (O'Callaghan, 1977). As late as 1989, the government expenditures for white students were eight times greater than what was provided for the administration of the largest African ethnic group (Angula & Lewis, 1997). By the end of the South African occupation, few non-Whites had entered secondary school and even fewer successfully secured advanced education and training (Amukugo, 1993; Cohen, 1994).

This oppressive colonial and apartheid past combined with recently adopted international education protocols and norms have led to continuous “qualified” teacher shortages in Namibia’s basic education sector. The situation at Namibian independence was that 36% of the nation’s 13,000 teachers had no professional training (Namibia

Ministry of Basic Education, Sport, and Culture [NMBESC], 2004). The teacher shortage problem has become more pronounced in the years following independence because Namibia has continuously adopted increasing expectations for compulsory mathematics and science education. These subjects were sorely neglected during more than one hundred years of colonialism and apartheid, yet they are areas that Namibia believes are fundamental for transforming the country into a knowledge-based economy (Namibia Ministry of Education [NMOE], 2010; Namibia Office of the President [NOP], 2004). The greatest manifestation of teacher shortage is in Namibia's remote rural areas, where many qualified Namibian teachers are less willing to work. English language proficiency is also a problem in the rural areas, as English was not spoken or taught in these areas, or in the majority of the country, prior to independence.

The teaching industry has been further impacted by a continuously evolving national curriculum and increasing standards of professionalization. In 1990, the National Institute for Education Development (NIED) was established to lead the design, development, and evaluation of curricula for schools and teacher education. With the formation of NIED, two programs for teacher certification were developed: the Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD), to prepare teachers of grades 1-10; and a senior secondary school teacher qualification for grades 11 and 12 (NMOE, 1993). Initial teacher training programs and requirements are now undergoing change. In 2010, the colleges of education were merged into the University of Namibia, which was given responsibility for all teacher education. The admission standards for prospective teachers dramatically increased and the BETD is no longer offered as a credential for prospective teachers. Namibians interested in becoming teachers must now earn or possess a post-

secondary degree in education. The rising standards have negatively affected the number of qualified teachers.

To manage qualified teacher shortages more immediately, the Namibian government has, in part, solicited and welcomed technical assistance from abroad. Over the past 20 years, a variety of educational assistance has been offered and accepted from countries both within and outside Africa. Within the past six years, over 800 prospective Namibian math and science teachers participated in a 3-year teacher training program in Zimbabwe (GRN, 2007). At the 2011 national education conference in Namibia, the late Education Minister Dr. Abraham Iyambo announced that Namibia is still unable to meet the demand for teachers and that the country would “need assistance from friendly countries” (Thomas, 2011, p.1). He said that at least 5,000 teachers would be needed and mentions Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria among the countries that would likely be approached for support.

Foreign-Sponsored Teaching Volunteer Programs

Preliminary research revealed that the main education and teaching volunteer programs in Namibia are the U.S. Peace Corps, WorldTeach, the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, and VSO. Additionally, teaching volunteers have been hosted from various other programs sponsored by Japan, Egypt, and Germany, to name a few. This study closely examines and compares the foreign aid agreements and teaching volunteer programs of two donor countries that have been working to help manage teacher shortages in Namibia since independence: Nigeria, in the global South, and the United States of America, in the global North.

U.S. Foreign Aid and the Peace Corps. The United States of America has a population of over 308 million people and with a gross national income(GNI) per capita of US\$48,100, it is ranked as a high-income country. During the early part of the 20th century, the United States experienced unprecedented economic and industrial growth, securing its reputation as a global “superpower.” At the end of World War II, much of Europe was in shambles and the U.S. was a central leader in the efforts to provide funding for reconstruction. While the first allotment of aid through the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe was distributed in 1948, the U.S. was also preparing to embark on an ongoing plan to “build” the rest of the world. In the United States, the beginning of an official “development project” is often attributed to a 1949 post-World War II speech by President Harry Truman (Escobar, 1995; Leys, 1996). In his inaugural address, as part of a four-point plan to achieve “international peace,” he proclaimed that industrialized nations, “...must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas” (Truman, 1949). This has often been taken as the time when the world was formally divided into explicitly developed and underdeveloped parts for the purposes of foreign assistance (Hattori, 2003).

The Cold War that represented a battle between democracy or free market capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other hand, would further influence U.S. foreign aid policy. Most of the opinions on intervention in the Third World were rooted in politics and even continued support of imperialism. After Truman, President Eisenhower did not pursue many proactive policies towards the “developing world.” In fact, during the Eisenhower administration, the U.S. was one of the few countries that

abstained from voting on the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples – U.N. Resolution 1514, an international resolution condemning colonialism (Hubbard, 2011). Nonetheless, by the end of the struggle for independence in many former colonies especially within the African continent in 1960, a variety of other events positioned the U.S. in a place of global influence. Historian Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman (1998) notes, “two world wars and unparalleled economic productivity had interwoven the destiny of the United States with that of the rest of the globe and delivered into American hands enormous power for good or evil” (p.2).

There are currently a variety of U.S. foreign aid programs in operation in Namibia. According to the U.S. State Department, there is an AIDS relief program, a global health initiative, and a poverty reduction and economic growth program underway through various U.S. agencies, such as USAID, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention(CDC), and the Millennium Challenge Corporation(MCC) (U.S. Department of State, 2013). The U.S. Department of Defense also reportedly provides training for the Namibian Defense Force. The United States Peace Corps is another federal aid initiative operating in the country.

The United States Peace Corps was created in 1961 during the administration of President John F. Kennedy by Public Law 87-293, Executive Order 10924. The concept of an overseas volunteer development corps was first pitched to a group of university students during a presidential campaign speech by then Senator Kennedy a year earlier in which he challenged them to work in the developing world on behalf of the U.S. government (Peace Corps, 2013). The founding of the Peace Corps was intimately

connected to activities and posturing of actors in the Cold War (Cobbs Hoffman, 1998). President Kennedy (1960) noted that the Soviet Union, “had hundreds of men and women, scientists, physicists, teachers, engineers, doctors, and nurses...prepared to spend their lives abroad in the service of world communism” (“Peace Corps,” n.d.). The Peace Corps would be the U.S. answer or counterpart to the international volunteer presence already underway through the rival Soviet Union. It would also serve as a marked contrast to the more culturally-detached American diplomatic presence in host countries (Amin, 1992; Cobbs-Hoffman, 1998).

The U.S. Peace Corps has been an independent federal government agency since 1981; however, the agency’s activities are overseen by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as the House Committee on International Relations (Williams, 2008). The 2011 estimated annual budget of US\$446 million is a very small fraction of the roughly \$57 billion on foreign aid spending (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, 2010), however, in the past, scholars have noted concerns about the funding and future of the Peace Corps with various presidential administrations (Hall, 1997; Searles, 1997). There have been eighteen(18) presidentially-appointed directors over the course of the Peace Corps’ fifty-two year history, with only seven directors serving a term of over two years.

The U.S. Peace Corps recruits and sends its citizens to various developing countries to serve as volunteers for two years in various sectors, such as education, agriculture, health, community development, and business. The minimum age for service is 18 years. The mission of the Peace Corps is embodied in three primary goals:

1. To help the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained men and women.
 2. To help promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served.
 3. To help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans.
- (Peace Corps, 2012a)

The majority of volunteers have been placed in sub-Saharan Africa and education has continuously been the largest technical area in which volunteers work, with 40% serving in educational settings, including as school teachers (Peace Corps, 2012b). While the U.S. also has a teacher shortage, U.S. Peace Corps recruitment of teaching volunteers does not appear to be a drain on the domestic U.S. teaching stock (AFT, 2009; UNESCO, 2011). In the Peace Corps, there has typically been a strong focus on recruiting generalists rather than specialists. According to a 2007 study, Williams (2008) noted that while Peace Corps originally recruited skilled professionals, such as engineers and nurses, about 70 to 90 percent of current volunteers are recent liberal arts graduates.

In 1961, Ghana became the first country to receive Peace Corps volunteers; fifty-one volunteers were sent to teach. By 1962, Peace Corps had developed agreements and sent volunteers to 28 countries around the world (Peace Corps, n.d., “1960s”). The initial selection process was very competitive, with rigorous psychological tests and acceptance rates well under 10% (Cobbs Hoffman, 1998; Searles, 1997). Challenges in nurturing host country partnerships in the first few years related to accusations of cultural insensitivity and questions about the U.S. moral status to regulate democracy and justice abroad when Black Americans were subjugated domestically (Amin, 1999; Cobbs

Hoffman, 1998; Searles, 1997). One noted incident occurred in 1961 and revolved around a Peace Corps volunteer in Nigeria who used a postcard to share negative comments about the local culture with her family. The postcard was intercepted by host country nationals and became a subject of rampant protest (Amin, 1992; Cobbs Hoffman, 1998). Apparently overcoming skepticism and resistance, the Peace Corps rapidly grew to become one of the most recognizable international volunteer programs around the world. Over 200,000 volunteers have served in almost 140 countries in the 52-year history of the agency (Peace Corps, 2012a). As of September 2011, 1,286 Peace Corps volunteers had served in Namibia, with about 100 education volunteers serving in a given year (Peace Corps, n.d., “Namibia”).

Although reportedly the most generously financed, the U.S. was not the first donor, government or otherwise, to provide international volunteering as a form of development aid (Cobbs Hoffman, 1998). Cobbs-Hoffman asserts, however, that the U.S. was pioneering in the move “to incorporate volunteering into its foreign policy in an attempt to demonstrate one alternative to power politics” (p.8-9). The positioning of the United States as a wealthy global power created a more visible program and after aggressive marketing, also made the program attractive to a variety other donor entities.

According to Cobbs Hoffman

most European governments as well as the Japanese began volunteer programs modeled on the American program, yet built upon indigenous foundations. Between 1958 and 1965, nearly every industrialized nation started volunteer programs to spread the message of economic development and international goodwill. (p.8)

Soon thereafter, at least one so-called “developing” country would appear to embrace the model as well.

Nigeria Foreign Policy and the Technical Aid Corps(TAC) Scheme. A few reports suggest that Nigeria's foreign policy has been impacted at some point by the United States Peace Corps. Nigeria was a Peace Corps host country from 1961-1976 and 1992-1995, receiving approximately 2,100 volunteers (Peace Corps, n.d., "Africa"). During a study of Nigeria's international volunteer corps, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs was quoted as saying,

I admired the Peace Corps, what it entailed; the vision of it. And saw how it turned the 'ugly American' into the 'friendly American'... [So I thought that just] as the Peace Corps helped in putting a human face on the United States, [an international volunteer programme] may also help to counteract the image of Nigeria abroad. So, that when people talk about 419 [Advance Fee Fraud] and the 'ugly Nigerian' in a particular country, they will remember that there was that engineer who helped to build our express road, he was a Nigerian; or the nurse who helped save my baby when my baby was sick, was a Nigerian; or the medical doctor that was attached to the State House was a Nigerian. (TAC Protagonist and Former Nigerian Foreign Affairs Minister Bolaji Akinyemi, as quoted in Adebawo, 2012, p.23)

With over 140 million citizens, the West African nation of Nigeria joins the United States as one of the ten most populous countries in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). Nigeria is a constitutional federal republic and is currently divided into 36 states, with the capital in Abuja. Substantial oil revenues quadrupled in the 1970s and 1980s which was responsible for a surge in Nigeria's overall economic growth (Adebawo, 2012). It is one of the twelve members of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) (Korany, 1986). The country, however, has notable legacies of government corruption and remains near the bottom of nearly all statistical indicators (Ugaheme, 2008). Using the 2011 World Bank rankings, with a gross national income(GNI) per capita of \$1,180, Nigeria is designated as a lower-middle income developing country. Out of 187 countries, Nigeria has a human development index(HDI)

of 156 and is thus considered through UNDP rankings to be within the lowest tier of social and economic development.

The current national boundaries and territory of Nigeria were formally created in 1914 under the imperialist aims and flag of Britain, creating an English-speaking majority. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria has undergone over a dozen tumultuous leadership transitions, including military coups and about four democratic elections. Foreign aid policies and priorities have undergone a variety of shifts through each administration. In terms of offering international volunteer support, Nigeria is a relatively recent development partner; however King (2010) cautions against calling Nigeria a “new” donor. Nigeria was still a colony of England at the time of the 1955 Asia-Africa conference for developing countries in Bandung; however, it is reported that Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who would later become president of Nigeria, expressed dissatisfaction that Nigeria was not invited and advised conference organizers to “appreciate the historic mission and manifest destiny of Nigeria on the African continent” (Marwa, 2010, p. 3). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Nigeria had, at independence in 1960, formulated a general policy on South South Cooperation. It was a forward-looking policy arising from her knowledge of the problems of poverty and gross under-development plaguing developing countries. (DTAC, 2004, p.16)

A Nigerian political science scholar also notes, “Since becoming independent in 1960, Nigeria has continued to maintain the dual status of a recipient and donor country, which is rare among the sub-Saharan African countries” (Ibrahim, 2010, p.38).

Over the past five decades, Nigeria has enacted a number of foreign policies based on a range of domestic and international factors and influences. Studies of Nigeria’s foreign policy place assistance to Africa at the center of its objectives

(Babarinde & Wright, 2002; Mbachu, 2008; Okoro, 2002; Uhakheme, 2008). Some point to the government-sponsored Adedeji Report on Foreign Policy in 1976 as the period in which foreign policies became markedly more aggressive and “Afro-centric.” One example of the new policy direction was the establishment of a multi-million dollar aid program, the Nigeria Trust Fund (NTF), through the African Development Bank that same year (Marwa, 2010; Uhakheme, 2008). Nigeria also has a long history of supportive commitments in Southern Africa, and specifically to Namibia. Nigeria held the position of elected Chair of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid for about 30 years (Marwa, 2010).

After the independence of Zimbabwe, Nigeria stepped up her support to SWAPO³ of Namibia. Nigerian military transport planes delivered arms, relief materials, drugs and food to SWAPO on a regular basis through Rwanda. By 1981, Nigeria had donated over \$1.01 billion to the OAU⁴ Special Fund for the independence of Namibia. (Marwa, 2010, p. 13)

Post-independence bilateral relations between Nigeria and Namibia are generally governed by the Framework Cooperation Agreement signed on 3 February 1992. The agreement references cooperation in the core areas of: economics and infrastructure; socio-cultural matters; and diplomatic, defense, and legal matters.

In addition to the Nigeria Trust Fund (NTF), the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps(TAC) is another primary foreign aid project initiated during the oil boom and under the “Afro-centric” policies umbrella. The Minister of Foreign Affairs who developed TAC stated that the Pan-African Movement should be revived and that “this

³ SWAPO: South West Africa People’s Organization

⁴ OAU: Organization of African Unity

should now go beyond (the Senegalese concept of) ‘negritude’ to forge a functional alliance of all black peoples to attack their political and economic problems” (Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, as quoted in Aribisala, 2012, p. 28).

Deliberations for TAC began in mid-1986 under the administration of Nigeria’s sixth military ruler General Ibrahim Babangida, who assumed power through a coup in 1985 (Obi & Okwechime, 1999). Despite daunting economic, social and political challenges, as well as domestic controversy regarding the project, the TAC scheme was launched in 1987 and the statute establishing the TAC scheme, Decree 27, was signed into law in January 1993 (Daura, 2010b). Dr. Bolaji Akinyemi, who assumed the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs after serving as the inaugural director of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), was the main protagonist of the scheme and has noted the influence of John F. Kennedy’s philosophies and the United States Peace Corps specifically, in the construction of the TAC model (Adebanwi, 2012; Obi & Okwechime, 1999). Dr. Akinyemi claims that the modality of official development assistance through direct cash transfer was not effective and that a new model was needed to stem corruption in recipient countries as well as to support capacity-building (Adebanwi, 2012). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “outright cash donations...left no remarkable landmark beyond the impact of the moment (DTAC, 2004, p.16). The Ministry added that over time, cash donations as a form of assistance, “came to be seen as wasteful” (p.16). The program would work specifically with countries in the African, Caribbean, and Pacific regions, serve as a complement to other forms of assistance, and focus on nurturing international understanding (Jinadu, 2011).

At the formal launching of TAC in 1987, General Babangida declared the following

The Technical Aid Corps Scheme is in furtherance of our commitment to our foreign policy which makes Africa its centre-piece. This administration believes that it is in Nigeria's national interest, and that it should be regarded as Nigeria's sacred duty, to enhance the status of Blacks all over the world. We intend to achieve this not by interfering in other people's affairs, or by playing father Christmas, but by bringing new realism to our policy by giving assistance on the basis of the assessed and perceived needs of its beneficiaries and our national interests. (quoted in Okoro, 2002, p.117-118)

Image rebuilding for Nigeria was also consistently stated as a goal for foreign policy and TAC specifically. General Babangida also added that "...the image of the ugly Nigerian abroad was a product of the 1970s which, 'we should and must jettison as we march towards the 21st century' " (Nigeria Federal Ministry of Information and Culture, 1987b).

The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps places young Nigerian doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and other specialists as volunteers in African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries for a period of two years. The TAC program is managed through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under an Ambassador General for the TAC Directorate. The current TAC Ambassador General, Mamman Daura, shared that the transition from cash-assistance into "people-oriented programmes," was a more "modern approach" to foreign aid (Adebanwi, 2012, p.23). The primary objectives of the Technical Aid Corps are:

1. To share Nigeria's know-how and expertise with other African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (in this Decree referred to as "recipient countries");
2. To give assistance on the basis of the assessed and perceived needs of the recipient countries;
3. To promote co-operation and understanding between Nigeria and the recipient countries;

4. To facilitate meaningful contacts between the youths of Nigeria and those of the recipient countries.

(Federal Government of Nigeria, 1993, p. A267)

Objective 4 is often discussed with greater understanding that the majority of volunteers within TAC would be individuals who were young and mid-career professionals with relevant university degrees (Jinadu, 2011, p.9).

In addition to the main policy objectives, formal documents also reveal secondary goals of TAC which more clearly position Nigeria within the “developing” world. It is noteworthy that the language in the primary objectives includes the repeated term “recipient” countries, implying a binary of donor and recipient, which is typically resisted within South-South development discourses and literature (Mawdsley, 2011). The language in the four secondary goals listed below, however, are more in-keeping with the rhetoric and philosophy of South-South cooperation. The first two bullets suggest horizontal relationships, while the third bullet explicitly mentions South-South cooperation.

- Complement other forms of assistance to other developing countries;
- Ensure a streamlined programme of assistance to other developing countries;
- Act as channel of enhancing South-South cooperation; and
- Establish presence in countries which for economic reason, Nigeria has no resident diplomatic mission. (DTAC, 2004, p.12)

In the initial year, fifteen African and Caribbean countries placed requests for volunteers and over 20,000 Nigerian professionals responded to advertisements for volunteer posts (Agbe, 1987; Amokeodo, 1987). One hundred sixty-one members were

ultimately selected and participated in the orientation exercises; the majority of these pioneer volunteers were deployed to 12 countries (Nigeria Federal Ministry of Information and Culture, 1987a; DTAC, 2002). Mozambique was allocated 34 TAC members, the largest share of the initial group volunteers (Onyemaobi, 1987). According to one report, there have been a variety of funding and political challenges and constraints on the part of Nigeria and recipient countries that have impeded the continuous flow of TAC volunteers to partner countries over the years. The statutory legal backing, however, has helped to thwart abandonment by subsequent administrations (Obi & Okwechime, 1999).

The facts and figures about the Technical Aid Corps program vary widely across readily-available public sources. Some recent articles claim that around 2000 TAC volunteers (Adebanwi, 2012) have served in about 27 countries (Osidiye, 2010), while other articles report that more than 4000 volunteers (Babalola, 2011) have served in around 40 countries (Adebanwi, 2012). It is unclear whether the vast discrepancy in the data relates to lack of transparency on the donor side, lack of coordination and management of information, miscalculations based on differing counting systems, or other reasons. Appendix A outlines the most recent figures from the TAC Directorate.

Summary

Foreign teaching volunteer programs have been regularly utilized by governments and communities in the developing world as one strategy to manage teacher shortages. Since independence in 1990, the government of Namibia has worked with the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, among others, in this regard. While there are claims that South-South aid and North-South aid are distinctive,

the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, despite being sponsored by a country in the global North and one in the global South, respectively, share similar missions and goals. Both programs provide teaching volunteers to serve in Namibia's education sector for a period of two years. This study will further examine any similarities and differences in a common host country's attraction to the program and in actual program operations. The study also explores whether any noted differences may be attributed to accepted conceptualizations of South-South cooperation.

Background and Motivation for the Study

I first learned of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps(TAC) during my time as an education volunteer with the Namibia Ministry of Education Directorate of Research, Science, and Technology in 2008-2010. My assignment afforded me the opportunity to work with numerous primary and secondary schools in various regions around the country where I interacted with math, science, and English teachers and volunteers. The surface-level contrasts of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps to the United States Peace Corps and WorldTeach, the program with which I was affiliated, were immediately visible in Namibia's post-apartheid education environment. Teaching volunteers in Nigeria's program were Black African nationals of another developing country who had teaching credentials and significant classroom experience, while the teaching volunteers of the other two programs were predominantly, though not exclusively, younger and White nationals of more industrialized countries, often without any teaching credentials or classroom experience beyond that provided by a few weeks or months of pre-service training by the sponsoring organization.

I became curious about how all of the programs were welcomed and how each was perceived by the various stakeholders in Namibia's education sector. I found this topic particularly intriguing in light of the radical education reform underway which included a deliberate comprehensive overhaul and professionalization of the teaching industry, i.e. replacement of the basic education teaching diploma (BETD) for 4-year education-focused post-secondary degrees. I was also interested in how the volunteers perceived themselves and their reception within the communities in which they served. Finally, I was curious about how well the volunteers were meeting the needs they were summoned to fill.

Preliminary research revealed that TAC, funded by the Nigerian government, was loosely adapted from the U.S. Peace Corps model, so I decided to focus on a comparison of those two programs. Interviews during fieldwork challenge the notion of an explicit modeling of TAC on the U.S. Peace Corps; however, the similarities in mission of these two government-funded programs still made for a valid comparison. WorldTeach, on the other hand, is managed by a U.S.-based international nonprofit organization.

A short pilot study was conducted in Namibia during the summer of 2011 which revealed differences in some aspects of the design and host-country reception of the two teaching volunteer programs, specifically in regards to professional training. It was noted that Nigeria requires, at minimum, a year of national service in teaching, teaching certification, and three years of post-national service teaching experience for applicants interested in a volunteer teaching post through the Technical Aid Corps. On the other hand, the United States Peace Corps requires less than one year of some form of teaching or tutoring, and has no teaching certification requirements for their secondary education

teaching volunteer applicants. Nonetheless, while the Namibia Ministry of Education formed an internal committee in 2008 to further examine the qualifications and suitability of recommended Nigerian teaching volunteers prior to official acceptance, no host country-level screening takes place for U.S. Peace Corps volunteers.

Numerous questions emerged from the findings of the pilot study, including: Are Namibia's various stakeholders aware of the teaching backgrounds of the American volunteers? How may the lack of a teaching credential for American volunteer teachers resonate with increasing credentialing requirements and qualification standards for Namibian teachers? Are American volunteers more qualified in other ways that are attractive to the Namibian government? How does the presence or availability of credentialed teaching volunteers impact the acceptance and utilization of non-credentialed teaching volunteers in a given environment? What are the actual conditions or stipulations of the agreements between the countries? This dissertation reveals and generates data for the analysis of these questions and other similarities and differences in the policies, design and contextualization of the two programs in Namibia.

Statement of the Research Questions

The findings from the pilot study helped to determine the following two research questions which guide this dissertation:

1. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer programs developed, designed, and implemented in Namibia's basic education sector?
2. What accounts for any noted similarities and differences in the development, design and implementation of the two foreign teaching volunteer programs?

Significance

This study explores the logic and models of technical assistance to “developing” countries. This study is significant from a practical perspective because the Minister of Education in Namibia recently called for 5,000 more teachers to meet the teaching shortage in his country (Thomas, 2011). Among the primary questions facing the country’s policy-makers and education stakeholders are: Where will these teachers come from? If these teachers are overseas-trained foreign nationals, how will foreign teachers be utilized within local schools? and Will foreign teachers actually meet the local needs for qualified teachers? It is further anticipated that knowledge generated from this inquiry would afford new insights into the practice of South-South cooperation and more specifically of educational transfer or import. The goal is to provide objective scholarship and insight for policymakers, teachers, and other stakeholders working on teacher issues and related technical assistance. This study is also unique in that it explores foreign aid as an object of transfer to be viewed as other transferred policies or practices. As such, it deepens conversation about international volunteer service, especially in regards to ideology, processes and potential impact within host countries. As a comparative study, it links developed and developing countries in a single study, a phenomena that has not merited much support, but which is intriguing as various types of development assistance from the global South are appearing within host countries more historically supported by traditional Western aid projects. Finally, this study contributes to the relatively sparse empirical research on government-sponsored aid projects from the global South. Scholarship on the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, specifically, is missing from much of the research on international volunteer service and foreign aid in the form

of technical assistance. Indeed, the bulk of comprehensive data collected for this dissertation comes from the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps program. Sufficient data on the U.S. Peace Corps has nonetheless been obtained to inform a solid comparative study.

Conclusion

This chapter offered a contextual background and outline of the research proposed through this dissertation. Chapter II will provide a review of relevant literature informing this study, namely foreign aid, South-South cooperation, and cross-national educational transfer or teacher import, and will provide a conceptual and interpretive framework for the study. Chapter III will outline the methodology and design of the study, including sampling strategies and data analysis techniques, along with a discussion of how to maximize validity and trustworthiness of the findings. Additional terms and concepts will be discussed in appropriate sections. Historical accounts of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps and the U.S. Peace Corps in Namibia's basic education sector will be provided in Chapters IV and V, respectively, while a comparison of the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Corps will be the focus of discussion and analysis in Chapter VI. The dissertation will conclude with a final chapter presenting overall analysis of findings and a presentation of topics for future research.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This is a study which uses the framework of educational borrowing and lending. The term borrowing is used to mean the “conscious adoption in one context” of educational ideas, practices, or policies observed in another, while lending signifies the conscious sharing in one context of educational ideas, practices and policies to another context (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p.774). The research literature examines borrowing in regard to policies and ideas. This dissertation, however, examines the transfer of a distinct program and its related human resources. More specifically, this study explores the processes and actors involved in two programs that orchestrate the temporary transfer of “teachers” from one national context to another. The word teachers has been placed in quotes because although the international volunteers are being sent and placed as teachers within Namibia, some of the volunteers may not be qualified as teachers in their home country nor meet the standards of qualification for teachers in the host country. This research will explore the attraction of the particular volunteer programs, the decision to bring such volunteers into a country’s education sector, the implementation processes of the programs, and relative indigenization, particularly how the foreign teaching volunteers are incorporated into the local teaching community.

This chapter will examine current literature in the field, beginning with specific theories of cross-national education transfer and studies on foreign aid and donor logic. This chapter also explores literature that is useful in analyzing the particular nuances of the Nigeria-Namibia aid relationship within the context of South-South cooperation. The chapter closes with a review of findings and key challenges raised by current studies on

international volunteerism, specifically studies of the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps that influenced the research design for this study.

Theories of Cross-National Education Transfer

Cross-national education transfer has long been studied within the field of comparative and international education. Scholars are driven by the quest to better understand what prompts the transfer, how the transferred policy or practice operates within the new context, and how the transferred good impacts stakeholders. Studies of policy-borrowing typically examine “why a borrowed reform resonates, what policy issue it pretends to resolve, and which policy actors it managed to mobilise in support of reform” (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p.5). In exploring the motivations for a national government’s decision to use of a “foreign” policy, practice, or program, some point to theories of “globalization.”

The following definition of globalization is helpful:

A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions expressed in transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and power. (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton, 1999, p.16)

A more simple definition of globalization, however, is the unprecedented rate, volume, and reach of the transnational flow of people, money, and ideas (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Appadurai, 1996). Both of the definitions imply that there is an increase in sharing and the definitions also suggest that as movement becomes more rapid, the concept of “foreign” may not be static. Societies transitioning out of a colonial state or moving from an oppressive state into a democracy, such as Namibia, face unique opportunities and challenges engaging the predominant discourse of globalization.

Globalization may be frequently used as a rationale to generate pressure for local policies and change. In this regard, tensions become apparent among the needs to reconcile abused human rights, the plans for fiscal austerity, and the desire to participate in attractive innovations of the 21st century. Fox(2004) contends that restructuring and reform, especially in the education sector of less industrialized countries, “are often attempts to transcend boundaries and enter into a narrative of teaching and learning that is linked globally” (p.99). Policies which focus on global standards for education, or which utilize apparent “experts” in education may be more attractive than more locally-derived and relevant policies. The role of globalization on national policy decisions is the subject of considerable debate.

There are a variety of scholars who theorize how educational programs, policies, or practices travel from one country to another. Some theorists claim that as the world becomes more global and interconnected, systems, such as education, are simply becoming standardized and the similarities are not occurring by chance (Meyer & Ramirez, 2003). Another commonly mentioned incentive towards converging educational practices is to help a country or community gain and maintain legitimacy in global circles (Chabbott, 1998; Ilon, 1994; Meyer & Ramirez, 2003). In relating the argument about legitimacy to this proposed dissertation, the idea is that Namibia may desire international teaching volunteers, especially from “model” countries, in order to help the country or community “progress” or appear to progress towards sanctioned or even the rhetoric of international standards.

Conceptual Framework of Dissertation

As mentioned, this is a study of educational borrowing and lending. This research theorizes that globalization reduces, yet does not remove, the capacity of a nation-state to make national policy independent of international organizations and forces (Dale, 1999; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). The theoretical framework is positioned in contrast to conceptual guides which appear to constrain the role of policy actors through normative and regulatory rules. Theories related to educational borrowing and lending consider the rationality, intentionality and strategy of the borrower or lender (Suarez, 2007). Borrowing and lending research helps shed light the independence of the nation-state and gives more related agency to the adopting polities. The framework is more actor-centered. Scholars of policy borrowing focus on a few cases at the local level noting that, “Emphasis on local policy context as the analytical unit...places greater weight on the agency, process, impact, and timing, of policy borrowing” (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p.5).

There is a wide body of literature that speaks of educational “transfer”, “learning”, and “diffusion”, however the terms and concepts of “borrowing and lending” are consciously used in part because borrowing and lending “includes a notion of agency, is neutral with regard to the purpose and outcome of the policy transfer, and accounts for a focus on the receivers, as well as the senders, in the policy-transfer process” (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p.8). Borrowing is implicitly a deliberate phenomenon and act (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). For these reasons, the lens and language of borrowing will be utilized in this study. Transfer is also used rather interchangeably in much of the literature, and is also utilized within this dissertation study.

The past three decades have produced various research that have been noted to develop fundamental concepts in the study of policy borrowing and lending, including: “selective policy borrowing and lending (Brian Holmes), externalisation (Bernd Zymek, Jurgen Schriewer), and cross-national policy attraction (David Phillips)” (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p.8). Externalization implies a reference to a foreign context, possibly to legitimate a contested local policy, but without any significant or substantial internalization or adoption of the policy or practice (Schriewer & Martinez, 2004). The purpose is more about appearance for internal and/or external purposes. On the other hand, external references may be short-lived. In a case study of outcome-based education (OBE) in South Africa, Spreen (2004) focuses on how educational policy reforms get defined and appropriated in different national contexts. She conducts an historical analysis of borrowing and contends that

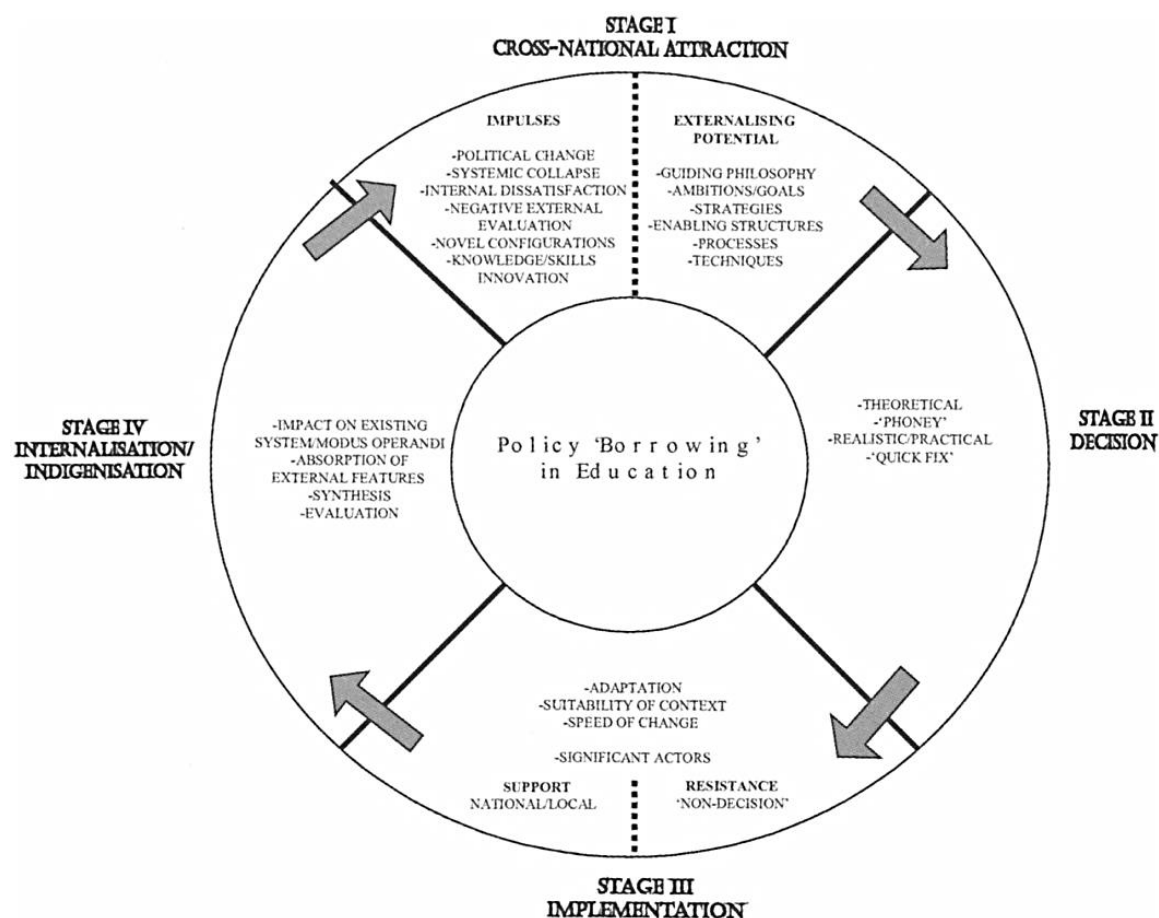
...while initially international lessons learned were important levers for policy-making and legitimizing contested approaches, as different features of the reforms are institutionalized and become mainstream concepts, they are politically viable only if their international origins are concealed. (Spreen, 2004, p. 102)

Cross-national policy attraction will serve as the framework of analysis for this study although the element of transfer is not a concrete policy, but rather a program, that is, the teaching volunteer program. David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs (2004) developed a four-stage model or structural typology to assist in the analysis of policy-borrowing, specifically in education. They developed the model in helping to explain British interest in education policies and systems in Germany. Their model is very rooted in a historical perspective and centers primarily on the official voice, primarily government officials and policy-makers. Others have since applied the model to additional educational borrowing studies, improving upon it as necessary (Gonon, 2012; Rapple, 2012).

Challenges to the utilization of the model relate to the complexity of policy-borrowing and the multitude of factors, variables, and processes involved in establishing and implementing policies at the government level. While a fluid four-stage model is useful in conceptualizing processes, the reality is much more dynamic and reflexive. This study adopts but does not, however, critically challenge the conceptual framework.

As shown in figure 2, the first stage is cross-national attraction, also conceptualized as impulses or “preconditions for change” (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). A few of the phenomena listed in the model include internal dissatisfaction, negative external evaluation, and political change. Some event or impulse serves as the catalyst for seeking external support for borrowing or lending, which then sparks attraction to a particular aspect(s) of the policy development process. Their framework for analyzing the basis of policy attraction centers on a structural typology consisting of six elements: 1)guiding philosophy; 2)policy goals; 3)policy implementation strategies; 4)enabling structures; 5)educational processes; and 6)educational techniques. This part of the model helps to categorize the particular interest in policies from elsewhere. The researchers argue that “cross-national attraction can occur at any point” of those six stages, for each of the stages have “externalising potential,” or the ability to be utilized elsewhere (Phillips, 2005, 28).

Figure 2. Policy “Borrowing” in Education



Source: Phillips and Ochs, 2004

Many studies, including ones undertaken by the original authors, have exclusively examined stage one of the four-stage model because it focuses on the specific elements which prompt and primarily define the transfer. Jeremy Rappleye (2007), for example, examines “attraction,” through exploring American and Chinese interest in Japanese education. He focuses primarily on document analysis to apply and critique the attraction stage. His findings lead him to add infrastructure, obstacles, and human agency as central considerations in attraction. He also notes that attraction is a product of both internal and external forces. While Rappleye provides a comprehensive expansion of the

attraction stage, the depth of his examination relates explicitly to policy transfer and goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. In addition, even though he consciously examines developed and developing countries in a single study, he does not delve into understandings of how the geopolitical distinctions may impact the dynamics of attraction.

Decision-making is broken into four types and represents the second stage of the Phillips & Ochs(2004) policy-borrowing model for education, as shown in Figure 2. Four types of decisions are considered: 1)theoretical, having broad and general implications; 2)"phony," which is similar to the concept of "discursive borrowing" outlined by Steiner-Khamsi(2004); 3)realistic or practical, with concrete measures and applications; or 4) "quick fix," which is a political response to a situation without consideration of long-term follow-through. The third stage of cross-national policy attraction is implementation which may be reviewed in terms of the response of a broader set of key players or "significant actors" than implied in the first two stages.

The fourth stage is called internalization or what Steiner-Khamsi(2004) calls "indigenization." In other words, the last stage asks, "What does the policy look like in practice once it has been accepted and implemented?" In the policy-borrowing model, there are four steps within this stage that focuses on what happens when a policy from elsewhere becomes part of a local system of education. The four steps are: 1)the impact on the existing system, 2)the absorption of external features, 3)synthesis, and 4)evaluation (Phillips, 2005). As my dissertation examines a temporary transfer, the process of indigenization will be examined more on the surface level and will not be examined in the depth as afforded by the Phillips & Ochs model.

Foreign Aid

“At the core of the common understanding of foreign aid is the idea of a transfer.”

(Samoff, 2009)

As mentioned earlier, foreign aid in its broadest sense consists of all support, technical or financial, transferred from donors to recipients, regardless of the donor profile, motivations, or impact. A commonly-utilized definition of development aid specifically, however, focuses on the intentions of aid and is meant to include “foreign aid whose purpose is to contribute to human welfare and development in poor countries” (Riddell, 2007, p.18). Foreign aid may also be recognized as a tool for managing cross-national transfer or exchange, or simply as the actual transfer (Samoff, 2009; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

Some scholars, applying theories of giving and reciprocity, claim that the very essence of foreign aid, as a form of transfer or resource allocation, may lead to reinforcement of hierarchies (Hattori, 2001, 2003; Mawdsley, 2011). Whenever there is a “gift,” there are expectations of a repayment or demonstrative sense of appreciation, also known as reciprocity, which may negate the concept of equality in the relationship (Mauss, 2001). When the transferred resources are beyond repayment, both parties may be contributing to what Pierre Bourdieu (1990) calls “symbolic domination.” These concepts were kept in mind throughout the study.

Within much of the current literature, there are three primary types of foreign aid for development: official development assistance (ODA) in the forms of grants and low-interest loans provided by governments and inter-governmental agencies; development aid provided by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations;

and humanitarian and emergency aid (Moss, 2007; Moyo, 2010; Riddell, 2007). In this classification scheme, volunteer activities are categorized by the funding source. In the case of government-funded volunteer programs, it would be included in the ODA category, although it does not or may not always consistently get reported (DeRebello, 2004).

For the purposes of research and data collection, it is also useful to classify the assistance by the donor (private or public/government/official), recipient (private or official), and target (for projects, sector-specific, or budget support) (Riddell, 2007). This dissertation study examines ODA by a government to another government for support to the education sector, in the form of teaching volunteers.

Though this dissertation is not focused on aid effectiveness, analysis of why certain aid practices are supported or enacted may benefit from a basic understanding of recognized principles of aid effectiveness. Critics of traditional aid initiatives argue that it is “top-down, poorly coordinated between donors, tied to donor interests, places excessive transaction costs on recipients, and insufficiently monitors what is successful or not” (Mawdsley, 2012). The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness adopts five key partnership commitments: ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing for results, and mutual accountability (OECD, 2005). Three years later, the subsequent Accra Agenda for Action proposed ownership, inclusive partnerships, and delivering results, as three main areas for improvement (OECD, n.d.). The Accra Agenda for Action also focuses on capacity development. Concepts such as ownership may be problematic, however, and should be reviewed through context- specific qualitative studies because

policy-making circles can be limited to high level government officials making true ownership elusive to the masses (Devarajan, Dollar, & Homgren, 2001; Samoff, 2009).

Donor Logic

Foreign aid does not comprise a significant percentage of any government budget. Since 1970, the UN-adopted target for ODA has been 0.7% of the donor country's gross national income(GNI); yet only six members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), an international forum of wealthy donor countries, have ever met the target (OECD, 2002).¹ Still, the decisions about why to give, how much to give, and who should receive the aid are usually not taken lightly. As mentioned, foreign donors typically spend less than one percent of their national income on development aid and tend to give aid to countries for foreign policy reasons other than poverty reduction, including political, capitalistic, and cultural motivations (Alesina & Dollar, 2000; Bermingham, Christensen, & Mahn, 2009; Moss, 2007; Riddell, 2007). Donor logic is a phrase meant to symbolize a country's rationale for allocating foreign aid (Steiner-Khamsi, 2008). Donor logic was considered in exploring the educational borrowing and lending process and in analyzing the potential reasons for any observed similarities and differences between the teaching volunteer programs of the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigerian Technical Aid Corps.

Past studies are instructive to review in order to better understand donor logic and the various motivations for foreign aid. Utilizing data from the Organization for

¹ Sweden, Netherland, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Luxembourg have all reached the target.

Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a consortium of the wealthiest countries in the world, Alesina and Dollar(2000) found that nations give based on political and economic motivations rather than prioritizing or directly considering the needs, strategies, and concerns of the recipient country. The authors saw patterns of giving associated with colonial legacies – countries tended to provide more assistance to their former colonies. Alesina and Dollar also found correlations between a donor’s giving pattern and patterns of UN voting in support of the donor country by recipients. While the Alesina and Dollar study focused on Northern countries, the evidence that donor countries have a strategic interest in supporting the development or economic needs of another country that may take precedence over recipient needs may also prove instructive for this study of a Southern donor, that is Nigeria.

Cooperation between developing countries, also known as “South-South cooperation,” is often addressed as very distinct from North-South cooperation (OECD, 2005; Steiner-Khamsi, 2009). An OECD brief outlines that although they share a common development objective, the two traditions of aid have different historical backgrounds and developed around the same time but did not truly interact (Tortora, 2011). The Reality of Aid Network (2010) claims that South-South cooperation is a significant form of assistance and that “South-South cooperation is a much broader and deeper concept than foreign aid” (p. 2). King(2010) asks, however, in reference to Southern donors, “...will their aid priorities, in reality, not be driven, in part, by the same concerns with ‘spheres of influence’, historical connections, common language, religion and ethnic identity, as some of the older donors...?” (p.10). King(2010) urges for “more critical accounts of the discourse of the new development actors, as well as empirical

work on their operations in partner countries” (p.12). This dissertation study attempts to do just that.

Examinations of official development assistance(ODA) between developing countries have noted giving patterns along strategic lines, including more narrow geopolitical and various commercial interests (ROA, 2010). Abubaker (2010) reviews the historical ties and relationships between the two former British colonies of India and Nigeria to highlight political rationales and strategic interest in cooperation. An analysis of China’s foreign policy with regards to fellow Southern nations found that in the 1990s when China emerged as a significant donor, there were strategic interests in building non-Western coalitions to buffer U.S. hegemony and to help ensure China’s economic growth in the midst of crisis (Tull, 2006).

Conversations about donors typically establish a dichotomy between donors and developing countries, which is not useful for an assessment of donor countries that are also labeled as developing countries (Abdenur, 2002; King, 2010; ROA, 2010). It is also important not to hastily and uncritically embrace the binary of North-South in these discussions because these distinctions are neither standard nor clear. According to Abdenur(2002),

this binary approach to development ultimately hides more than it reveals; it obscures not only the wide gamut of development levels among countries but also the complex network of cooperation ties across and within those levels of development. (p.57)

Nonetheless, the notion of the global South has long been widely accepted by scholars, practitioners, policy-makers, and the “Third World” alike.

The Third World Movement

All around the world, various countries joined forces and forged into a politically-active, loosely geographically-distinct body called the “Third World” or “global South” beginning at least in the early part of the twentieth century. In a sort of symbolic war against racist ideologies, physical oppression, political hegemony, and imperialism in the 1940s and 1950s, a movement solidified in which former and current colonies across Asia and Africa began to formalize and pledge unity and solidarity against patriarchy and imperialism. Perhaps one of the most recognized events at the start of this formal movement was a conference in 1955 held in Bandung, Indonesia (Escobar, 1995; McMichael, 1996).

At the Bandung Conference, or the Africa-Asia Conference, as it is also remembered, representatives from 29 nations in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East met to condemn colonialism, decry racism, and express their reservations about the growing Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. An observer to the conference, Black American author Richard Wright, describes the environment as filled with a diverse gathering of people and countries, motivated by common oppression but not much else (Wright, 1956). The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was established in 1961 to indicate lack of commitment to either Western capitalism or Soviet communism. More than fifty years later, the group still exists, although scholars question the continuity of purpose (Berger, 2004; Dirlik, 2004; Randall, 2004), and numerous other groups have developed under more tailored banners within the “developing” world. The Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) was developed in 1978, building on the principles of the Bandung Conference and outlining a plan and imperative for technical cooperation

among developing countries. Figure 3 below explains the emblem of the Buenos Aires meeting, which is currently the logo for the UN Office for South-South Cooperation.

Figure 3. UN Office for South-South Cooperation Emblem



Source: United Nations Special Unit for TCDC, 1994

Specifically within the massive landmass of Africa, the movement was just as palpable. Formalized regional, continental, and even trans-continental identities and politics emerged in Africa as part of a resistance against the political oppression and occupation of European powers (Fanon, 2010; Senghor, 2010). Ideas of unity and racial solidarity became powerful motivators among early African nationalist causes emerging also among exiles in Europe, the West Indies, and among African-American thinkers in the United States (Moss, 2007; Mudimbe, 1988). Pan-Africanism, or a philosophy and movement to unify native Africans and people of African heritage or descent, had been discussed as early as the 1860s well before Bandung (Okafor, 1993). A journalist and author writing in the 1960s identifies eight central “emotional reactions and drives” which birthed the exclusive Pan-African movement: 1) feelings of dispossession;

2)ambivalence towards the West; 3)Black solidarity; 4)feelings of inferiority; 2)rejection of inferiority/pride of color; and 6)sense of a lost past (Legum, 1965, p.14).

The Organization for African Unity (OAU) began in 1963 to support liberation movements in African territories under colonialism and to help eradicate apartheid in South Africa and Namibia (African Union, n.d.). In 2002, the OAU dissolved and the African Union (AU) was launched with a shifted focus on Africa's development and integration. Nigeria was active in each of these organizations and espoused the language of continental unity through its leaders and many foreign policies, including TAC, especially since the first rule (military) of General Olusegun Obasanjo. As mentioned earlier, Africa is noted as the "centre-piece" of Nigeria's foreign policy. General Babangida, who launched the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, declared that "...it is in Nigeria's national interest, and that it should be regarded as Nigeria's sacred duty, to enhance the status of Blacks all over the world" (General Babangida at the formal launching of the Technical Aid Corps Scheme in 1987, Okoro, 2002, p.117-118).

Another formal organization, the Group of 77 (G-77), was established by seventy-seven developing countries in 1964 as a formal organization of the United Nations. There are currently 130 member states in the G-77, although it retains its original name and focuses heavily on South-South cooperation, loosely defined as "a process whereby two or more developing countries pursue their individual or collective development through cooperative exchanges of knowledge, skills, resources, and technical know-how" (DeRebello, 2004, p.1). The G-77 has regularly affirmed a conceptual framework and set of principles for South-South cooperation (Group of 77, n.d.). It is not apparent,

however, that all advocates and practitioners of South-South cooperation embrace its tenets.

While the G-77 principles on South-South cooperation state that it is a distinct form of aid that should not be compared to North-South assistance, there now appears to be more similarities, in general, between South-South cooperation and North-South cooperation. Unlike its origins when the contrary politics of cooperation between developing countries was the norm, such distinction is now more questionable (Berger, 2004; Dirlik, 2004; Randall, 2004). Some scholars and advocates have recently argued that South-South cooperation should be seen as complementary and not as an alternative or in contrast to North-South cooperation (DeRebello, 2004; ROA, 2010). In reality, many cooperation projects between Southern nations are in essence funded, planned, and/or managed by a Northern partner in what is now called “triangular cooperation” (Abdenur, 2009; DeRebello, 2004; United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2008; Zahran, Roman-Morey, & Inomata, 2011). The actual projects are intentionally more diverse which continues to challenge the question of whether South-South cooperation is homogenous enough to be treated as a distinct foreign aid practice.

In spite of such active debate around the distinctiveness of South-South cooperation, one scholar, a geographer, focused on understanding development assistance from non-traditional donors, identified five characteristic features of what she calls the “symbolic regimes of ‘emerging’ aid”: “the assertion of a shared ‘Third World’ identity; a specific expertise in appropriate development; an explicit rejection of hierarchical relations; an insistence on mutual opportunity; and the positive value given to reciprocity” (Mawdsley, 2011, p.16). A Nigerian ambassador discussing the distinctions

of South-South cooperation outlines “four strands of thought” which he reports has informed the “logic of South-South cooperation” for over fifty years (Daura, 2010a, p.337):

First is rejection of Western thought and models of development of the early period of independence as a good basis of development and progress in countries in the South.

Second is the elevation by the first generation of leaders in the South of the feeling of moral responsibility to assist sister countries as they painted the Western world as “aggressive, exploitative, materialistic, and racist.”

Third is the consideration that the prosperity of the developed countries was enabled by the underdevelopment of the countries in the South.

Fourth, and more recently, is the consideration of the impact of globalization. (Daura, 2010a, p.337-338)

The United Nations Special Unit on South-South Cooperation (SSC) also forwards a set of succinct guiding principles which echo those mentioned above.

South-South cooperation is a manifestation of solidarity among peoples and countries of the South that contributes to their national well-being, their national and collective self-reliance and the attainment of internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals. The South-South cooperation agenda and South-South cooperation initiatives must be determined by the countries of the South, guided by the principles of respect for national sovereignty, national ownership and independence, equality, non-conditionality, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual benefit. (United Nations Unit on South-South Cooperation, n.d.)

The fundamentals of South-South cooperation are somewhat rooted in a type of quasi-binary against the West, which appears to resonate with philosophies espoused in post-colonial studies. South-South cooperation appears to reclaim and redistribute symbolic and real power through “alternative” forms of foreign aid relationships. Such alternatives contest Western ways of seeing things or a linear conceptualization of development, even though many members of the global South still embrace the term

“developing” country. A British scholar of post-colonialism, Robert Young (2003), notes that among the roots of post-colonialism, or what he also refers to as tri-continentalism, representing the three non-Western continents of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, is a “conceptual reorientation towards the perspectives of knowledges, as well as needs, developed outside the west” (p.6). In a comparison to feminism, Young claims that postcolonial theory involves a focus on the emancipation and empowerment of the subaltern and “the right to make decisions that affect their own lives” (p.5). In South-South cooperation, this may be interpreted as the focus on joint ownership, technical support, non-interference, and mutual respect.

Each year since 2004, there has been a commemorative UN Day for South-South Cooperation. Also, a meeting has been held every two years since 1981 “to undertake an overall intergovernmental review of technical cooperation between developing countries within the United Nations development system” (United Nations Unit on South-South Cooperation, n.d., “The High Level Committee on SSC”). South-South, like development, post-colonialism, and other terms within this study, is a problematic term but it enjoys wide use in various professional, academic, and government arenas and should be considered as a valid concept for research (Jules & Morais de sa e Silva, 2008; Steiner-Khamsi, 2009).

South-South Cooperation in Education

South-South cooperation in education has been widely embraced as a unique form of capacity-building (Steiner-Khamsi, 2009). According to the Reality of Aid Network (2010), the G-77 notes that South-South technical cooperation in education is a promising and available tool because education and technical skills are not wholly constrained by

the economic wealth of a country. The bilateral, multilateral and regional projects include sharing of curriculum, funding for physical school infrastructure, policy lending, college scholarships or admission, and a variety of others (Chisholm & Steiner-Khamisi, 2009; DeRebello, 2004; Mawdsley, 2012; Society for International Education, 2008).

The challenges mentioned earlier, however, in regards to triangular cooperation, for example, problematize the concept of South-South cooperation as somehow distinctive or even straightforward or clear.

Peter Cronin (2008) examines triangular cooperation in the case of BRAC, which was once the purely Southern-led Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee and now simply exists as the acronym, BRAC. Cronin (2008) argues that through the scaling up of program operations across various countries and borders, the project became somewhat dependent on a mix of northern donors and sponsors to stay solvent. BRAC started in 1972 as an almost entirely donor-funded, small-scale relief and rehabilitation project to help Bangladesh overcome the devastation of its Liberation War with what was then West Pakistan, yet through expansion to Afghanistan, Uganda, and Sri Lanka, it has become detached in ownership from the Southern country of Bangladesh, and the “proposed egalitarian nature” of transfer as an exhibition of South-South transfer becomes problematized. In such cases, we must ask, What is the true nature of the partnership? Is it still South-South cooperation? What makes it distinctive?

Abdenur (2002) suggests that the notion of hierarchy is absent in the language on cooperation between developing countries, which is echoed by the 2009 G-77 ministerial declaration on South-South cooperation and by the Reality of Aid Network (2010) through the documentation of a series of mission statements articulating mutual benefit

and collective self-reliance. This claim, however, is questionable. According to the Reality of Aid Network (2010), South-South development cooperation “...is often characterized by highly unequal relationships with the poorest countries, in which the donor interest can easily be paramount” (p.18). In a study analyzing China’s foreign policy in Africa since the early 1990s, Tull (2006) also finds “a generally asymmetrical relationship differing little from previous African-Western patterns,” despite China’s avoidance of preconditions and principles of non-interference in recipient-government affairs (p. 459).

The UNDP has identified “pivotal countries” in South-South exchange, of which Nigeria is one, and certain countries are often noted as regional “leaders” (Mochizuki, 2009). Further, in a few studies, including the study on Nigeria’s Technical Aid Corps program in the Gambia (Adebanwi, 2012) and the Fethullah Gulen movement in Turkey (Silova, 2009), the term “big brother” is used to represent the Southern donor. According to Adebanwi(2012), “despite its economic, political and social crises, the national imaginary in Nigeria was that of the ‘Giant of Africa,’ with an important leadership role on the continent and even in the Black World” (p. 24). This still appears to denote hierarchies and levels. Perhaps the sibling metaphor - of brother, sister- in South-South cooperation is a unique one which would allow for more friction and tension in relationships, in comparison to the paternalism metaphor in North-South cooperation which would not lend itself to as much direct confrontation and challenge.

Another example of this shift-from-paternalism trend is offered in a recent study of South-South cooperation in education by Toni Cela Hamm(2013) aptly titled, “Am I My Brother’s Keeper.” The study examines a foreign aid initiative from Senegal to Haiti.

In 2010, the government of Senegal offered scholarships to Haitian university students after a massive earthquake destroyed the majority of the Haiti's higher education institutions. Cela Hamm met with government officials; and interacted with 42 Haitian scholarship recipients in Senegal through interviews, focus groups, and surveys. Document analysis was also part of her methodology. Findings revealed that the foreign aid was offered, in large part, to position Senegal as a regional leader. Cela Hamm also found, however, that there was an apparent paradox in the Senegalese government's interpretation of Pan-Africanism and the actual goals of the scholarship program. While the government of Senegal proposed the program as a way to build the capacity of Haitians to rebuild Haiti, it also offered the Haitian students Senegalese citizenship, as a symbol of Pan-African solidarity. This "flexible citizenship," she contests, could foster migration and raise the potential to exacerbate a brain drain from Haiti, which would counter the goal of strengthening Haiti's capacity. In her research, she argues that in the context of the scholarship program and immigrant policies, Haitian students acquired social and political capital that privileged them over Senegalese students. Such tension was an unexpected outcome.

The potential confusion in the goals, outcomes, and classifications of South-South cooperation has been noted through numerous studies, such as those mentioned above, and was kept in mind in designing the study and in conducting final analyses.

Studies of the U.S. Peace Corps

A variety of studies have been conducted on the U.S. Peace Corps. One recurrent trend throughout the literature is the varying and somewhat evolving program operations over the 50-year life of the Peace Corps, especially in regards to recruitment and

placement (Amin, 1999; Maugh, 2007; Reeves, 1988; Searles, 1997; Zimmerman, 1995).

This is related, in part, to the evolution of a program started in the early stages of the development project, without experienced leaders or clear road maps. It also relates to the political contexts affecting the program.

While older studies of Peace Corps provide interesting historical context, much of the findings may not directly relate to this study because of the stated evolution of the program and practices. A review of the literature suggests that it is important to clearly specify and limit the focal time period of this study and to clearly document the political context of the countries involved. The decision to limit this research to a recent five-year period was made with this evidence in mind.

In her dissertation assessing the varying recruitment techniques, marketing rhetoric, and goals of the Peace Corps, Casey Maugh (2007) examined numerous agency and volunteer materials, including photographs, blogs, and advertising campaigns. She noted that Peace Corps has fluctuated on who to target for recruitment. As a program designed to improve cultural diplomacy, the focus was on the recruitment of idealistic, impassioned young generalists. Maugh found that current Peace Corps rhetoric

relies less on the idealistic image of bringing peace to foreign nations, and more heavily on convincing the volunteer that service will satisfy personal concerns such as the adventure of two years spent abroad and future career advancements. (p.16)

A variety of historical studies of the U.S Peace Corps consistently describes Peace Corps' explicitly heightened focus on cross-cultural training and sensitivity as compared to other and prior American diplomatic missions and development programs, such as USAID (Amin, 1999; Cobbs-Hoffman, 1998; Searles, 1997). A few studies delve further

and probe the actual cross-cultural adjustment demonstrated and felt by Peace Corps volunteers in the field (Helms, 1990; Tsatsoulis-Bonnekessen, 1994).

One anthropological study in 1994 attempts to track participants through the full acculturation process of the Peace Corps experience, from pre-service training(PST) to the close of service (Tsatsoulis-Bonnekessen, 1994). The researcher draws attention to the uniqueness of the Peace Corps as a development program which emphasizes cross-cultural, interpersonal priorities, contrasting it with the German volunteer programs' more technical priorities. Such a contrast is evident between Peace Corps and the Nigeria TAC program as well. In the multi-phase acculturation model used within her study, Tsatsoulis-Bonnekessen(1994) identifies Peace Corps Volunteers as "sojourners" aiming to accommodate the host culture while retaining their home culture. Between November 1990 and January 1993, Tsatsoulis-Bonnekessen conducted numerous interviews and repeatedly administered personality and inter-cultural awareness tests in alignment with the training and service period of 15 male and female Peace Corps volunteers in Costa Rica. She refers to a 1990 Peace Corps study and highlights two key problems that contributed to high volunteer attrition:

‘Volunteers who find themselves in-country without a 'real job' or in a position that either displaces an indigenous worker or has little to do with economic development;’ and ‘Less than optimal language and area training that leaves many volunteers no more than marginally prepared to communicate with their host country associates.’ (US. House Committee on Government Operations 1990:3 as cited in Tsatsoulis-Bonnekessen, 1994, p.1)

Her study finds similarly that “the unsuccessful volunteer is one who has been placed succeeding another, feels overwhelmed by the expectations of the community, and has low social language skills” (Tsatsoulis-Bonnekessen, 1994, p.ii).

In my study, elements of cross-cultural training and sensitivity have been raised, especially in light of claims that South-South cooperative initiatives have a distinctive advantage of “cultural” ties. Analyses of findings, however, must be tempered because only general background information was gathered through interviews with individual volunteers and contact was relatively minimal. While data on early-termination rates for Peace Corps/Namibia volunteers were obtained, gathering specific details on the underlying reasons for leaving early would merit an in-depth and focused study in itself. Such individualized focus and analysis is outside of the scope of this multi-level study.

Coming close to comparative research, a few studies have theorized and explored the idea of differential experiences and impacts of service for African-American Peace Corps Volunteers (Amin, 1992; Helms, 1990; Zimmerman, 1995). In Helms’ (1990) study, she interviewed 15 self-identified African-American returned volunteers from a wide range of countries and across three decades. She contends that during her period of focus, African-American Peace Corps volunteers were under-prepared for the cross-cultural adjustment they would face in their service. She found that Black volunteers were treated differentially by their host communities in the field; however, they were not formally treated as a unique group for the purposes of specialized training and sensitization exercises. In a few instances when they were given informal specialized training, effectiveness was minimal in part because local Peace Corps trainers, though available, were reportedly not used. As a result, Helms contends that many Black volunteers were not afforded the type of pre-service training and in-service support that would have maximized their satisfaction and productivity in service. She used inductive analysis which led to four major concerns noted by the respondents: perceptions of

discrimination by host country nationals; being the victim of stereotyping; being subjected to racial taunts; and being mistaken as a local African.

The changes in training plans, the diversity in the country experiences, and the overall changes in the program structures create serious limitations in the findings of Helms' (1990) study. Such wide variation in conditions and context for such a small sample introduces very different individual cases that may challenge outcomes. Further, the shifting and diversifying tide of inter-and intra-race relations and racial identity with enhanced globalization cautions utilizing the findings of Helms' study without appropriate context and analysis of place and time. The concept of perceived differences in host country reception and experiences, including differentiated training and expectations is a factor within my study as well.

Another recent study related to the research goals of this dissertation is a 2008 study by Portia Williams which examines the politics and construction of need in regard to foreign aid. Williams' study is a national-level investigation of the Kenyan government's seemingly paradoxical decision to utilize Peace Corps teaching volunteers to meet local teacher shortages in mathematics and science while also exporting Kenyan teachers to serve in neighboring countries. Kenya was chosen for Williams' study because of its status as a low-income developing country; however, the study does not directly interrogate the ideas of South-South Cooperation as part of Kenya's logic. Williams considers the cross-national provision of teachers to be a form of foreign aid and she applies a method of process-tracing to explore the various events that led to the movement of teachers in and out of Kenya.

Williams(2008) presents the fact that Peace Corps education volunteers in Kenya and in general, were not required to be certified teachers and this appeared to impact the utilization of such volunteer teachers in Kenyan secondary schools at various stages of the education reform process. The first group of Peace Corps Volunteers entered Kenya in 1964, one year after the country's independence. Findings reveal that as the Kenyan education system was improving in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was a drive to scale-back foreign teaching volunteers. Local resistance to American/foreign policies and practices in Kenyan education was also evident at this time. Around 1988, research showed that the Kenyan government issued a policy requiring teaching volunteers in secondary schools to "have a professional certification in the required subject area with at least one year of teaching experience" (Williams, 2008, p.158).

Interviews with individuals working at various levels within the education sector revealed differences in local reaction to both the import and the export process around this time. Some felt that Americans, of whatever qualification, could benefit Kenya, which appeared to reinforce the notion of cultural and knowledge-based hierarchies. For others, Kenya's education system was equal to others within the global system and did not need external help or intervention to do what it could do for itself. Williams also reported that whether and why there was a Kenyan teacher "shortage" appeared to be in debate. Ultimately, Williams finds that in the context of Kenya, "need" is a construct influenced by a variety of internal and external political factors. She also argues that both Peace Corps and Kenya were agents in constructing national identity abroad and "controlling images of 'need' "(Williams, 2008, p.191).

Studies of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps

The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps is mentioned more commonly in studies of Nigeria's foreign aid policy (Matthew, 2005; Mbachu, 2008; Okoro, 2002) than in general international volunteer service (IVS) literature (Adebanwi, 2009, 2012; Sherraden, Stringham, Sow, & McBride, 2006). Most of the literature about volunteer service programs in Africa was either focused on national service projects or failed to mention the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps (TAC) as an example of international volunteer service (McBride, 2009; McBride, Benitez, & Sherraden, 2003; Patel, 2009; Patel & Wilson, 2004). Studies that noted international volunteers from African countries typically referenced programs managed by an organization in the "West" that recruit a majority of their volunteers from countries in the "South" (Allum, 2007; Rockcliffe, 2005; Devereaux, 2010). Rockcliffe(2005) and Allum (2007), for example, review how VSO, a UK-headquartered independent international development organization, began recruiting volunteers from Africa and Asia in the late 1990s. In these cases, commentary on educational transfer would not be fully representative of a South-South exchange, but rather of North-South-South or triangular cooperation. Research was also available on international service programs in the form of international work camps, or international volunteer exchange programs supported by international non-governmental organizations (Patel & Wilson, 2004).

Much more is written on the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) of Nigeria, which is important to identify because all prospective Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers must have completed or be officially exempted from NYSC in order to be apply to TAC (DTAC, 2004). Nigeria developed the NYSC in 1973. It requires college

graduates under the age of 30 to complete a year of domestic service within their field of study in a state or location other than where they were raised (Obadare, 2010; Omo-Abu, 1997; Patel & Wilson, 2004). According to Adebayo Adedeji, a founder of the NYSC who also played critical roles in the comprehensive restructuring of Nigeria's foreign policy, the orientation program, in part, examines "...the role of the Nigerian Youth in...(d) promoting the mental and spiritual de-colonisation of Africa and the Black World" (as cited in Obadare, 2010, p. 26). The volunteer training curriculum is a focus of the transfer process and will be evident within the selection and placement aspects of service.

Two other studies on the National Youth Service Corps of Nigeria focused on the role of the program in building nationalism and bridging ethnic divides (Omo-Abu, 1997; Obadare, 2010). Data from these studies were drawn from open-ended interviews, surveys/questionnaires, and focus group discussions. The findings reveal questionable impact on nationalism and ethnic integration. Nonetheless, roughly 200,000 Nigerians have participated in the program since its inception noting success in other ways (Obadare, 2010).

The sole studies that have been located on the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps (TAC) have been conducted by Nigerian anthropologist Wale Adebani (2005, 2009, 2012) although a study was recently completed by University of Lagos political science professor Adele Jinadu (2011).

A study by Adebani (2012) focused on civic nationalism and international volunteerism within an African context. Using interviews, questionnaires, newspaper reports, and participant observation conducted both in Nigeria and the Gambia,

Adebanwi studied the TAC program across all the service sectors supported in the Gambia, where the majority of volunteers have served since TAC's inception. Adebanwi conducted participant observation in training and orientation sessions based in Nigeria noting the curricula as well as commentary made by guest government officials, trainers, and volunteers. He included three types of TAC participants in three distinct statuses: departing, serving, and former volunteers. Adebanwi found that many volunteers were interested in serving in countries and environments that did not include undue hardships.

Adebanwi(2012) also notes that selected volunteers were concerned about getting stipends at least equivalent to the salaries they were earning in their current jobs, which resonates with the preliminary findings of Anheier & Salamon (1999). Anheier & Salamon (1999) reviewed various studies and reports identify country-specific patterns and conceptualizations of volunteering. They collected basic information on volunteering in more than twenty countries worldwide, with a little more than one-third representing the developing world. The findings and analysis reveal a patterned change of focus or definition of volunteering trending towards

individualization and secularization...Today, volunteering is less linked to religion, notions like 'service to the nation,' and traditional expectations. Instead, it is tied more to more specific needs, self-interest, and greater individual choice. (Anheier & Salamon, 1999, p. 46)

Such findings, however, were only evident in a few of the reviewed studies on the U.S. Peace Corps (Maugh, 2007). Anheier & Salamon did not include TAC in their study.

Adebanwi (2012) employed snowball sampling methods because lists of volunteers were noted by government officials as protected under foreign service protocols. In response to questionnaire and interview items, TAC volunteers noted varying conditions of support available to them in the Gambia. While some provided

glowing feedback on their experience, others reported that they were without basic amenities during much of their service period suggesting minimal monitoring and support. Various comments included in the report also juxtaposed TAC volunteers alongside Cuban volunteers, but not with any volunteers from any other country, which was somewhat curious. Adebani noted that many TAC volunteers complained that they were not appreciated by the locals and that the Gambian government acknowledged the service of Cuban volunteer doctors through service awards but not the TAC doctors, even though the TAC volunteers expressed their impression that the TAC service was more valuable. It is not clear if the research instruments led to this distinctive comparison, or if talk of Cuban volunteers emerged independently through interaction with the research participants.

The other scholar who has researched the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps is Political Science Professor Adele Jinadu(2011). Jinadu was commissioned by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to contribute to a collection of 31 case studies on South-South and Triangular Cooperation. The study gathered standard information according to a quasi-template provided by the study-commissioners. Although the scholar utilized as study design that was prescribed outside of the local Nigerian context, Jinadu produced central findings on the program that were not widely available to the broader public prior to the report.

Jinadu (2011) reports that TAC “vests ownership in the recipient countries, through:

- i. Their governments' decision on their areas of need;
- ii. Their specification of the number of TAC volunteers required;
- iii. Their decision where TAC volunteers would be deployed within the recipient countries;
- iv. Their commitment to provide what amounts to counterpart funding to supplement Nigeria's contribution to the scheme.” (p.2)

Jinadu(2011) points out that a reflective selection process is built around the tenets of the Nigeria Federal Character Commission. Established by Decree No. 34 1996, the “Federal Character Commission...prescribes...Guiding principles and formulae specified hereto for the distribution of all cadres of posts in all services throughout the federation” (Appendix B). Jinadu(2011) summarizes the key components below.

The selection process emphasizes professionalism, broad stakeholder representation, inclusiveness and diversity in the selection process. The scheme typically tries to reconcile merit with the provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria stipulating ethno-regional diversity in selection processes for appointment, promotion and admission to federal institutions. Thus, TAC volunteers are drawn in roughly equal numbers, as far as is possible, from each of the thirty-six states in the Nigerian Federation and the Federal Capital territory, Abuja, while the composition of selection panels reflects diversity of professionals and experts. The venue of interview for prospective TAC volunteers and orientation workshops for selected TAC volunteers is rotated each selection and orientation biennium among the 36 states of the Nigerian Federation and the country’s Federal Capital City, Abuja. (p.2)

International Volunteer Service

Transnational or international volunteer service(IVS) can be defined as:

an organized period of engagement and contribution to society by individuals who volunteer across an international border, in another country, or countries. IVS may be sponsored by public or private organizations, it is recognized and valued by society, and volunteers receive little or no monetary compensation. (Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008, p.397)

The international volunteer service programs in this study both have individual rather than group placements and are classified as long-term (6 months or more) (Sherraden, Stringham, Sow, & McBride, 2006). Some scholars question whether volunteerism should include service that is paid (Brown, 1999; Carson, 1999; Patel, 2009); however, the prevalence of stipends and incentives for long-term international volunteers is common and is typically minimal, with regard to compensations for salaried

professionals within the respective field. Both volunteer programs in this study, for example, provide living stipends and health insurance, along with a few other benefits for its members. According to the Peace Corps/Namibia booklet provided to local stakeholders, “They are called Volunteers because they willingly ‘volunteer’ to leave their homes, families, friends, careers, and accept the challenge of living and working in a culture that is new to them” (Peace Corps/Namibia, “What is Peace Corps?”, n.d.). And while some differentiate between “civic service” and “volunteering” suggesting that “volunteering” narrows the scope (Sherraden et al., 2008), scholarship on the topic is not consistent and the terms will be used interchangeably within this proposal.

A review of international volunteer program studies and literature revealed the significance of recognizing an IVS classification scheme. Sherraden, Lough, Sow, & McBride (2006) offer a series of ways to distinguish IVS programs, although the classification schemes are not mutually exclusive. The authors contend that programs may be categorized by the type, nature, duration, and degree of “internationality”, each of which are explained and discussed below.

Sherraden et al. (2006) propose two types of IVS, those that promote international understanding, and those that provide development aid and humanitarian relief. Allum (2007) similarly highlights three objectives for international volunteer programs: “aid for development, public relations between countries, and a form of education for volunteers themselves” (p.3). Altruism and instrumentalism, or the desire to use the experience for advancement in other personal or personal areas, are also mentioned by Anheier & Salamon(1999) as factors for civic service. Recruitment, selection, and training factors

for volunteer programs will likely take these objectives into account, as would other components to a lesser degree.

The “nature” of IVS is a straight-forward classification and refers to whether the service placement is for individuals or groups. “Duration” groups international volunteer programs using three periods of reference: short-term (1 to 8 weeks), medium-term (3 to 6 months), and long-term (6 months or more) (Sherraden et al., 2006). The “degree of internationality” represents the flow of volunteers: unilateral programs are one-way and send volunteers to a recipient or partner country; bilateral programs represent an exchange of volunteers between two countries; while multilateral programs include volunteers from multiple countries working together on joint projects.

Sherraden et al., (2006) claim that unilateral, or one-way, programs are distinct in that the sending organization: defines the parameters of the programs, chooses the participants, is legally responsible for them, provides most of the funding, helps to place the volunteers, and provides other in-country support. These distinctions are worthy to note because using the classification schemes reviewed above, the two programs in this dissertation study are both unilateral programs. One question to explore is whether all unilateral programs share these distinctions, regardless of the sponsoring organization or government. On the surface, it appears that Peace Corps is more unilateral than TAC.

In summary, the international volunteer service programs in this study both have individual rather than group placements, are classified as long-term (6 months or more), and are unilateral in their degree of “internationality” (Sherraden et al., 2006).

Grossman & Furano (1999) reviewed various civic service programs over a twenty-year span. They focus on the U.S. context and the research implies that

volunteers are not typically professionals in the fields in which they will serve. The research suggested three elements as crucial to the success of any volunteer program: screening potential volunteers to ensure appropriate entry and placement in the organization; orientation and training to provide volunteers with the skills and outlook needed; and ongoing management and support of volunteers by paid staff to ensure that volunteer time is not wasted. These components will serve as a basis for comparatively reviewing the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps programs. In order to manage data, however, the elements to be examined in this dissertation study have been expanded from Grossman & Furano's original three components into seven components: recruitment, selection, placement, orientation, assignment, monitoring, and support, which still overlap with Grossman & Furano's scheme. In Table 1, each of the elements used to explore the volunteer programs within this study are overlaid below. The elements include stage three and four of the education borrowing model – implementation and indigenization (Phillips & Ochs, 2004); three components of volunteer management – screening, training, management/support (Grossman & Furano, 1999); and the expanded components used in developing and detailing the research plan.

Table 1. Volunteer Programs Research Guide

Phillips & Ochs (2004)		
Stage 3: Implementation		Stage 4: Indigenization
Grossman & Furano (1999)		
Screening	Training	Management & Support
Corresponding research focal areas		
Recruitment, selection, placement	Orientation	Assignment, monitoring, and support

Chapter III

RESEARCH DESIGN

As shared in Chapter I, two primary questions guide this dissertation. The primary questions, along with central sub-questions, are listed below. The sub-questions are organized around the four-stage interpretive framework of educational borrowing; utilize Namibia as the site, with a specific focus on secondary schools; and are based on the components of commonly-utilized management principles of international volunteer service programs.

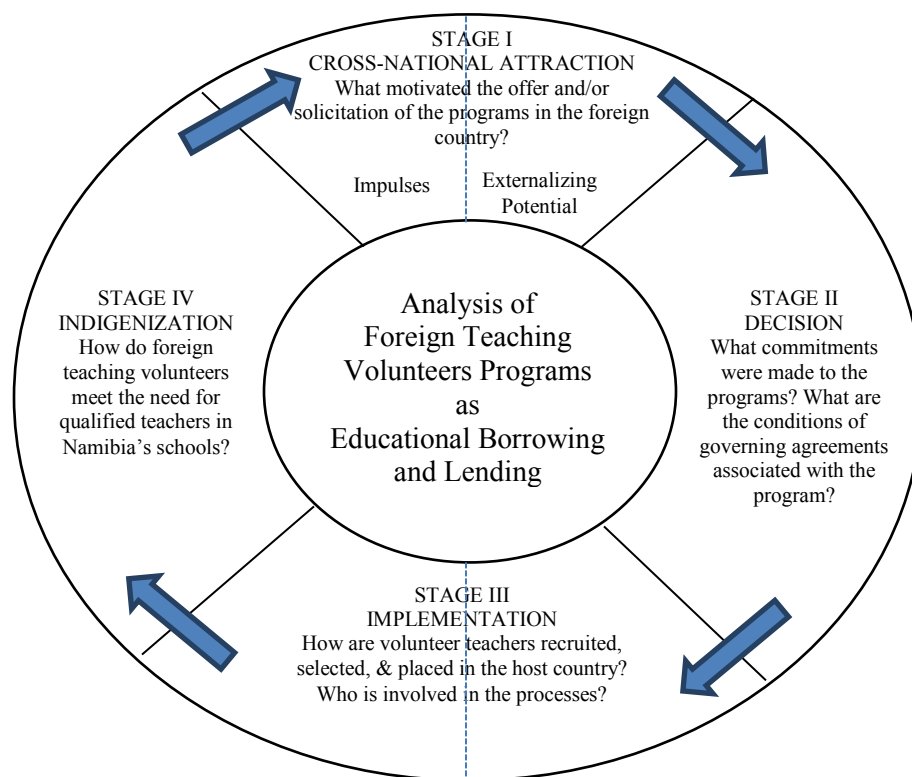
1. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer programs developed, designed and implemented in Namibia's basic education sector?
 - a. What are the impulses and catalysts of attraction of U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer programs to Namibia's basic education sector?
 - b. What types of agreements (or systems) govern the U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer programs in Namibia's basic education sector?
 - c. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer programs implemented within Namibia's basic education sector?
 - i. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteers recruited to serve in Namibia's secondary schools?
 - ii. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteers selected to serve in Namibia's secondary schools?

- iii. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteers oriented and placed within Namibia's secondary schools?
 - d. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer programs integrated into Namibia's secondary school communities?
 - i. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteers monitored within Namibia's secondary schools?
 - ii. How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteers supported within Namibia's secondary schools?
- 2. What accounts for any noted similarities and differences in the development, design and implementation of the U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Corps in Namibia's secondary schools?

These questions have been answered through a qualitative study. I utilized a multi-level and multi-site case study approach to gather and present findings based on a four-stage model of cross-national policy borrowing which builds upon the Phillips & Ochs framework (2004) and which incorporates relevant findings from literature on international volunteer program structures and processes. As shown in figure 4, the first two stages - impulse and decision- were assessed based primarily on national or federal government-level input. A third stage – implementation –depended on input from all levels and gathered details on recruitment, selection, placement, monitoring, and support activities for each teaching volunteer program. Stage four – indigenization – reveals how volunteers were incorporated into their local teaching environment or school. By working at multiple levels, data was triangulated and any differences in rhetoric and

practice at the national, regional, institutional or school, and individual levels were noted. Primary methods for this study include archival research and document analysis; semi-structured interviews and on-site field work. It must be noted that the U.S. Peace Corps did not agree to fully engage in the interviewing elements of the study, so much of the data gathered on the U.S. Peace Corps program were obtained through publicly available program information, materials gathered through various Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests, interviews with former U.S. Peace Corps Namibia personnel, and interviews with Namibian personnel (at the national, regional, and school levels) involved with the U.S. Peace Corps program in Namibia.

Figure 4. Foreign Teaching Volunteer Utilization within Educational Borrowing Framework



Adapted from Phillips & Ochs (2004)

Case Study Methods

Case study methodology has long been considered a relevant and appropriate approach in comparative education research (Paulston, 1994). The case study method embraces a wide array of data collection tools to build a comprehensive localized picture of a problem or topic of interest (Creswell, 1998). Case study methodology is also important to help generate data about the implementation, rather than the rhetoric, of policy. This case study of borrowing builds an understanding of how Nigeria Technical Aid Corps and U.S. Peace Corps teaching volunteers have been recruited, introduced, and incorporated into Namibia's education sector.

Local knowledge is obligatory to truly understand the full educational borrowing story. As noted by Steiner-Khamsi(2012) and reviewed earlier, among the various studies of cross-national transfer studies, policy-borrowing is distinctive in its “emphasis on local policy context as the analytical unit” (p.5). Case studies, if administered appropriately

... could generate significant practical and theoretical advances; offering, as it does, opportunities for further challenges to the epistemological and ideological dominance of the positivist and acting as a reminder to macro-oriented comparativists that micro-level issues cannot be ignored. (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984)

There are a few potential challenges to case study methodology, however. Crossley & Vulliamy(1984) discuss four potential limitations:

1. Exposure of the tension between “evaluation” and “research” for understanding
2. Neglect of established social science theories and methodologies
3. Lack of apparent rigor in data collection, which may lead to accusations of bias, and questionable generalizability

4. Low population validity, which may impact the extent to which the findings can be generalized from the research sample to other populations

Validity

In order to help manage these potential limitations, a variety of validity measures were utilized. Maxwell(2005) uses the term validity to mean “the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account” (p. 106). Member checking, researcher reflexivity, or data triangulation were all used to boost the correctness or credibility of the data (Maxwell, 2005; Creswell & Miller, 2000). I reviewed gathered information with participants to assess accuracy, a strategy also known as member checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000). I kept a regular research journal with comprehensive narratives and memos to maintain awareness of my personal biases. I also regularly disclosed information about the role of the study in helping me earn my doctorate, my relationship to the volunteer programs in the study, and my past work as a volunteer with the Ministry of Education. This strategy of reflexivity helped readers or consumers of my work to be conscious of my position, thus keeping the study focused on research rather than evaluation purposes. Data triangulation was applied to minimize or reduce the risk that my findings and analysis “will reflect the systematic biases or limitations of a specific method” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 93). Ensuring a true multi-level case study is yet another approach to managing some of potential limitations.

While multi-level analysis is expected in a solid case study, explicit attention ensures that each nested level is afforded warranted attention. By examining multiple levels in a single case study, cultural, political, and historical data is exposed that may not

be available at a single level (Bray & Thomas, 1995; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006). It bridges the gap between rhetoric and practice by promoting comparison across levels and triangulating data. In promoting a multi-level approach for studies of educational policy, Bray & Thomas (1995) remind that it is important to move beyond reviews of the individual, class, or school level. They note that, “students are nested in classrooms, classrooms are nested in schools, schools are nested in school systems, in regions, in counties, or in countries” (p.486). In this case study of international teaching volunteers programs, it is important to consider all levels of the program, from the governing policy, up to the individual volunteer who actualizes and embodies it.

Sampling Strategies

Site, case, and informant selection was purposeful and criterion-based in that I intentionally chose “information rich cases for in-depth study” (Patton, 1990).

Purposeful selection, according to Maxwell (2005), has four possible primary goals: 1) achieving typicality; 2) capturing heterogeneity; 3) theory-sensitivity; and 4) specific comparative design.

Namibia was chosen as the site, in order to achieve representativeness, while the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps were selected as primary cases in order to illuminate similarities and differences in the programs’ designs and contextualization. Care was taken to ensure that the comparative design and analysis did not overshadow understanding of the local processes, meanings, and influences of each program, a main strength in qualitative research (Maxwell, 2005). Questions were removed which directly asked for comparisons, however, in certain cases, a set of

questions about one program directly proceeded a similar set of questions about other programs, leading to responses which were presented in an explicitly comparative frame.

Site Selection

In terms of representativeness, Namibia is one of many countries who actively utilize teaching volunteers to manage qualified teacher shortages. Findings may be relevant to other countries and projects as well. Namibia was chosen as the most appropriate site for this study because with just over 20 years of independence, it has a relatively short period of engagement with foreign teaching volunteers. Namibia thus provides an ideal site for comparative analysis of foreign teaching volunteer programs. Many other countries would have a longer period of time hosting teaching volunteers, especially Peace Corps volunteers, who have been serving in countries since 1961, particularly in the African, Caribbean and Pacific regions, where TAC programs operate. Within sub-Saharan African, there have been nine new Peace Corps host countries since 1987, the year TAC began. Only six of those nine recent additions are still currently receiving Peace Corps volunteers.¹ Of those six, Zambia, Namibia, Mozambique, and Cape Verde host both TAC and Peace Corps volunteers, three of which have a longer history with TAC than with Peace Corps. Mozambique and Cape Verde began receiving TAC volunteers about 10 years prior to the Peace Corps while Zambia began receiving TAC volunteers about 7 years prior to Peace Corps (Peace Corps, n.d., “Africa”; DTAC, 2002). Namibia began receiving U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps

¹Cape Verde, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia each became Peace Corps host countries after 1987 (Peace Corps, n.d., “Africa”)

teaching volunteers around the same time, even though there was an extended period of interruption of TAC deployment to Namibia. In addition, Namibia is a site of interest for educational policy research because there are a variety of educational reforms actively underway, which may benefit from relevant empirical and practical research on technical assistance projects. Finally, reliable access to Namibian policy-makers and familiarity with the Namibian landscape and cultural geography created a feasible opportunity to conduct a meaningful study.

Case Selection

The U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps were selected as the two cases for this study because they were most comparable in explicit goals, overall tenure in the target host country, average number of education volunteers per year, and funding source. As mentioned in Chapter one, preliminary research revealed that the main education and teaching volunteer programs in Namibia are the U.S. Peace Corps, WorldTeach, the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, and VSO. WorldTeach and VSO are not government-funded. Additionally, preliminary findings revealed an assumption that the TAC model was intentionally borrowed from the U.S. Peace Corps, an assumption that would be explicitly investigated through this study. Over the years, the Namibia Ministry of Education has also received volunteers from various other programs sponsored by Japan, Egypt, and Germany. The Japanese partnership is not focused on teaching, while the Egyptian and German programs have sent a relatively small number of teaching volunteers over the past twenty years.

Selection of Informants

Informants and categories of informants were selected because they were either key drivers in foreign teaching volunteer policy formulation and/or implementation. National government officials were approached in order to gather details on the specific regions and schools that received Peace Corps and TAC volunteers. National government officials also provided selected information on the volunteers who served. The regions were then approached for participation and those that agreed offered listings of schools that received volunteers, where available.

National government ministry and program officials. Senior government officials and program administrators with policy-making and/or implementing duties relating to bilateral agreements and projects in Namibia were invited to participate. This included personnel in the Namibia Ministry of Education, including the Office of Permanent Secretary and Directorates identified by the Permanent Secretary, as well as the National Planning Commission of Namibia. I also targeted former Ministry of Education officials who were instrumental in the development of related bilateral agreements. For Nigeria, it included personnel in the Directorate of the Technical Aid Corps in Abuja, as well as the Nigeria High Commission of Namibia. Again, I sought input from any key past officials who were critical in program development and operations, especially in the Namibia agreement. And for national-level input for the United States, I focused on personnel at the U.S. Peace Corps Headquarters in Washington, DC, along with the U.S. Peace Corps office in Namibia. Former Peace Corps officials were targeted whenever possible, particularly because the Peace Corps was not forthcoming with allowing access to currently-serving personnel and volunteers.

Regional offices and officials. Within Namibia, attention was placed on purposively-selected regions. Namibia is currently administratively divided into 13 regions. Each region maintains its own Ministry of Education and staff, although the national or central Ministry of Education retains control over the curriculum and other administrative aspects of school operations and systems. In order to have a reliably comparative sample in regards to recruitment activities, training, and other steadily-changing management techniques, only regions and schools that had experience hosting TAC or Peace Corps teaching volunteers over the past five years were targeted for participation in this study.

A listing of all the regions that submitted requests for Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers from 2008 to the present was obtained from the Ministry of Education. Detailed listings of U.S. Peace Corps volunteer placements, however, are not systematically maintained by the Namibia Ministry of Education Headquarters. Nonetheless, a list of regions where Peace Corps volunteers have served over the past four years was eventually obtained.

Eleven of Namibia's thirteen regions requested or utilized both Nigeria Technical Aid Corps and United States Peace Corps Volunteers within the past five years. All education ministry directors of the eleven regions were invited - via phone and via fax - to participate in the study. Six regions confirmed intent to participate; however, coordination with one region was a challenge and did not allow for full engagement during the research period. To manage the vast distances and travel between regions, a rental car was secured at three different times, each for a period of two weeks.

Secondary schools and school administrators. Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers are only placed in grades 8 and above; the U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers also manages a secondary education program. As such, only secondary schools were sampled. There are a total of 196 secondary schools in Namibia. The listing of schools where U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers were placed over the past five years was incomplete at the time of initial school selection. As such, within the selected regions, twenty(20) of the twenty-four secondary schools that have hosted Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers were invited to participate in the study; thirteen schools agreed. All but two of the thirteen participating schools reported having recent experience hosting Peace Corps Volunteers. The listing of potential schools to target for the study was compiled using national Ministry of Education records and with the input of participating regional administrators.

Table 2. Description of secondary school informants

Region	# of Secondary Schools (2011)	# of Secondary Schools Hosting TAC (2008-2012)	# of Secondary Schools Sampled	% of Qualified Secondary School Teachers (2011)
1	11	4	2	93.7%
2	14	6	2	95.9%
3	7	3	3	91.6%
4	21	7	4	94.4%
5	13	4	2	90.1%
	Regional Total: 66	Host Total: 24	Research Total: 13	National average: 93.5%

Source: Namibia EMIS Database 2011; MOE Files on TAC Deployment

Relevant demographic information about schools in the study is provided in Table 2. As shown in the table, there are sixty-six total secondary schools in the sampled regions, with twenty-four of those schools having experience hosting TAC volunteers over the past 5 years (2008-2012). Over fifty percent of the schools that have hosted TAC volunteers within the target period took part in this study. The final column shows the percentage of qualified secondary school teachers in each of the sampled regions. The sampled regions fluctuate around the national average for numbers of qualified secondary school teachers, with three having a percentage above the national average and two having a percentage below the national average.

Three of the sampled regions prepared and provided general written letters acknowledging their participation. These acknowledgement letters were shared with school principals to indicate regional awareness of the study. At the school-level, principals were approached and introduced to the study by the primary investigator. When possible, invitations were sent via fax and followed up by phone call. Otherwise, the research program was explained to school officials in-person and targeted individuals were provided with a copy of the research description, and letter from the regional administrator, as available.

Secondary school teaching volunteers. All Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers placed within secondary schools during the research period were invited to participate. As the United States Peace Corps did not allow permission to interview current volunteers by the end of the scheduled research period, former secondary education volunteers who finished service within the preceding 12 months were invited to participate. Returned Peace Corps Volunteers were approached through direct contact

and through listservs managed by RPCVs. Individual TAC volunteers were approached at the schools and contacted via phone and/or e-mail when possible. Support was also requested from the U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps program offices in Namibia. Program officials were asked to generally notify volunteers of the study; a sample notification was prepared by the primary investigator and made available for adapting. The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps in Abuja authored a letter acknowledging awareness of the study. The High Commissioner of the Nigerian Embassy in Namibia also formally agreed to participate. The U.S. Peace Corps, however, did not provide any final or formal decision on participation by the end of the scheduled fieldwork period. The reason(s) for such indecision or non-decision are unclear.

Methods of Data Collection

Two primary methods were utilized to gather data for this research: interviews and document analysis.

Interviews

This study relied heavily on interviews, which Bryman(2004) says are probably the “most widely employed method in qualitative research” (p. 312). Semi-structured interviews were utilized to allow flexibility and voice in the interviewee; this method was employed at every level. Following the interview guide approach, I prepared questions and specific topics and followed-up on information gleaned at the time of or during the interview (Bryman, 2004; Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Interviews with senior government officials were slightly more structured to account for time.

Contact was made with each target participant via phone and/or e-mail and in-person, when possible, in order to inform potential participants of the research purpose and opportunity to participate. Notes and verbatim transcriptions were used to document the interview, along with audio-recordings, when permission was granted by the interviewee.

Table 3. List of Interviews

Total Interviews: 47 <u>National Level Interviewees (15)</u> Namibia² • Current and Former Staff of the Namibia Ministry of Education (6) Nigeria • Current and Former Staff of the Nigeria High Commission to Namibia (3) • Current and Former Staff of the Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs and TAC (4) United States • Former Peace Corps Namibia Staff (2) <u>Regional-Level Interviewees (5)</u> • Namibian Regional or Deputy Directors of Education (5) <u>School-Level Interviewees (13)</u> • Secondary School Principals and Administrators (13) <u>Individual Volunteer-Level Interviewees (14)</u> • Returned Peace Corps Volunteers in Namibia Schools (5) • Current and Returned Nigeria Technical Aid Corps Volunteers (9)
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As shown in Table 3 above, forty-seven interviews were conducted in the United States, Nigeria, and Namibia. An additional 28 interviews were to be conducted with individual volunteers; however, there were challenges in communication. Many TAC

² Teaching volunteers sent by the governments of Nigeria and the United States are centrally managed through two Namibia Ministry of Education Directorates: the Directorate of Programming and Quality Assurance(PQA), and the Directorate of Planning and Development(PAD), both are located in the capital, Windhoek.

volunteers deployed during the 2010-2012 biennium left site prior to the fieldwork start period and currently-serving Peace Corps volunteers were not cleared for participation by U.S. Peace Corps Headquarters by the end of the fieldwork start period. As such, interviews were conducted with both current and returned TAC volunteers and with returned Peace Corps Volunteers (RPCVs). Requests for interviews with selected U.S. Peace Corps officials were formally presented in May 2012 yet the specific requests were neither denied nor granted as of May 2013. Accordingly, interviews were held with two former Peace Corps Namibia officials.

To determine appropriate interview questions, research questions were positioned on a matrix and the interview questions were placed within the framework to illustrate and monitor relevant connections, as shown in Table 4 which follows. The table outlines how the sensitivities to various levels of informants, document analysis, and research elements were taken into account in the construction of interview guides. The research sub-questions were placed in the first column, while overarching questions were positioned in each of the four informant levels targeted for the case study – the national, regional, school/institutional, and individual. Along with the overarching questions, the table includes lists and numbers of the target respondents to interview as well as items to collect for document analysis at each level and for each sub-question. Multiple interview guides were used to accommodate the various types of respondents. The volunteer interview guide was piloted with returned volunteers from both programs prior to full administration while additional interview guides were piloted with individuals in the Namibia Ministry of Education Directorate of Research, Science, and Technology.

Table 4. Research Questions and Methodology Matrix

Primary Research Question: How are U.S. Peace Corps and Nigeria Technical Aid Corps programs designed and contextualized within Namibia's basic education sector?

Sub-Questions:	NATIONAL (Namibia, Nigeria, U.S.)	REGIONAL	SCHOOL	INDIVIDUAL
BI-LATERAL ATTRACTION <i>(process, criteria, sources, key actors)</i> <i>What attracts the American and Nigerian teaching volunteer programs to Namibia's education policy-makers?</i>	How is the agreement to provide teaching volunteers to a host country developed? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>			
RECRUITMENT <i>(process, criteria, sources, key actors)</i> <i>How do American and Nigerian teaching volunteer program recruitment processes compare?</i>	How are teaching volunteers sought within the donor country <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>[Archival records: recruitment advertisements and brochures]</i>	How is the regional education office involved in submitting requests for foreign teaching volunteers? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Regional Directors of education(5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How is the school involved in requesting foreign teaching volunteers? <i>[Interviews: Secondary and Combined School principals(13)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How was the individual recruited to become a volunteer teacher? <i>[Interviews: Current TAC Volunteers (9) & Peace Corps Volunteers (5)]</i> <i>(Archival records: recruitment materials)</i>

Sub-Questions:	NATIONAL (Namibia, Nigeria, U.S.)	REGIONAL	SCHOOL	INDIVIDUAL
SELECTION <i>(process, criteria, key actors)</i> How do American and Nigerian teaching volunteer program selection processes compare?	How are teaching volunteers selected within the donor country? What are the criteria? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i> How are teaching volunteers selected by the host country? What are the criteria? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>(Archival records: selection notices; internal memos)</i>	How is the regional education office involved in selecting foreign teaching volunteers? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Regional Directors of education(5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How is the school involved in selecting foreign teaching volunteers? <i>[Interviews: Secondary and Combined School principals(13)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How was the individual selected to become a volunteer teacher? <i>[Interviews: Current TAC Volunteers (9) & Peace Corps Volunteers (5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: selection notice]</i>
PLACEMENT <i>(site selection, volunteer assignment)</i> How do American and Nigerian teaching volunteer program placement processes compare?	How are volunteers placed within host communities/schools? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How is the regional education office involved in placing teaching volunteers in schools? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Regional Directors of education(5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How is the school involved in the decision to place a teaching volunteer at their school? <i>[Interviews: Secondary and Combined School principals(13)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements;</i>	How was the volunteer chosen to teach at a particular school? <i>[Interviews: Current TAC Volunteers (9) & Peace Corps Volunteers (5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: placement notice]</i>

Sub-Questions:	NATIONAL (Namibia, Nigeria, U.S.)	REGIONAL	SCHOOL	INDIVIDUAL
ORIENTATION <i>(pre-service training)</i> How do American and Nigerian teaching volunteer program orientation processes compare?	How are teaching volunteers trained or oriented to the country and project? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos; orientation manuals; training guides]</i>	How is the regional education office involved in orienting and training foreign teaching volunteers? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Regional Directors of education(5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; orientation manuals; internal memos]</i>	How is the school involved in orienting or training the volunteer? <i>[Interviews: Secondary and Combined School principals(13)]</i> <i>[Archival records: orientation and training materials; internal memos]</i>	Describe the orientation and training process? <i>[Interviews: Current TAC Volunteers (9) & Peace Corps Volunteers (5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: orientation materials; handbook]</i>
MONITORING <i>(supervision, evaluation)</i> How do American and Nigerian teaching volunteer program monitoring processes compare?	How are foreign teaching volunteers monitored during their placement? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How is the regional education office involved in monitoring foreign teaching volunteers? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Regional Directors of education(5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How is the school involved in monitoring teaching volunteers at their school? <i>[Interviews: Secondary and Combined School principals(13)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	Who were the various individuals and offices that were involved in monitoring your teaching placement? Describe the monitoring activities. <i>[Interviews: Current TAC Volunteers (9) & Peace Corps Volunteers (5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: orientation materials; handbook; e-mails]</i>

Sub-Questions:	NATIONAL (Namibia, Nigeria, U.S.)	REGIONAL	SCHOOL	INDIVIDUAL
SUPPORT <i>(in-service training, benefits-housing, transport, health, allowances)</i> How do American and Nigerian teaching volunteer program support processes compare?	How are foreign teaching volunteers supported during their placement? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Minister of Education & Permanent Secretary of Education; TAC and Peace Corps Program Administrators]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How is the regional education office involved in supporting foreign teaching volunteers? <i>[Interviews: Namibia Regional Directors of education(5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	How does the school support foreign teaching volunteers at their institution? <i>[Interviews: Secondary and Combined School principals(13)]</i> <i>[Archival records: formal agreements; internal memos]</i>	Who were the various individuals and offices that were involved in supporting you during your teaching placement? Describe the support activities <i>[Interviews: Current TAC Volunteers (9) & Peace Corps Volunteers (5)]</i> <i>[Archival records: e-mails; evaluation notices]</i>

Document Analysis

Document analysis focused on records and artifacts provided contextual information. As shown in Table 5, I sought policy memos, internal correspondence, newspaper articles and recruitment advertisements, demographic records on program participation (numbers of participants, home states, backgrounds), and official program materials (training guides, handbooks, selection rubrics). Archival materials on the program operation components of interest were reviewed and gathered from U.S. Peace Corps Headquarters in Washington, DC, at the Nigeria TAC Headquarters in Abuja, the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs in Lagos, and through various Namibia Ministry of Education national and regional offices and schools. I relied heavily on the U.S. Peace Corps website, where extensive archival information is systematically stored.

Table 5. Documents reviewed for analysis

COUNTRY/INSTITUTION	DOCUMENTS REVIEWED
Nigeria	
Directorate of Technical Aid Corps (TAC)	✓ Training and orientation schedules/documents ✓ TAC handbooks ✓ Progress reports, overall and Namibia-related ✓ Anniversary reports, proceedings
Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)	✓ Archived articles, press releases, reports referencing TAC ✓ Published research papers regarding foreign policy and TAC
Nigeria High Commission of Windhoek (NCHW)	✓ Partnership reports relating to Namibia
Newspapers	✓ Recruitment advertisements ✓ Orientation and Interview announcements ✓ Articles about TAC Namibia partnership ✓ Articles about TAC origin (1987-1992) ✓ Editorial columns referencing TAC

Namibia	
Namibia Ministry of Education	✓ Relevant Bilateral agreements ✓ Placement reports related to foreign volunteers ✓ Evaluation reports related to foreign volunteers ✓ Joint Cooperation Agreement summaries ✓ Internal memorandums relating to volunteers ✓ National development plans and strategic planning reports
Namibia Ministry of Planning and Development	✓ Bilateral agreements
Newspapers (<i>The Namibian</i>)	✓ Articles about TAC Namibia partnership ✓ Articles about PC Namibia partnership ✓ Articles about foreign teaching volunteers
U.S.	
Peace Corps website	✓ Annual reports (congressional reports) ✓ Placement figures ✓ Recruitment advertisements ✓ Recruitment/Marketing Catalogue ✓ Demographic reports (numbers of participants, host countries) ✓ Archived speeches and anniversary reports
Presidential Libraries (JFK, Truman)	✓ Archived memorandums, speeches
FOIA'd Documents (from various offices)	✓ Blank applications
Returned Peace Corps Volunteers	✓ Training schedules/materials ✓ Volunteer contracts, descriptions of service

Data Management and Analysis

As mentioned above, two primary methods were utilized to gather data for this research: interviews and document analysis. Documents were organized by type and notes were taken on the specific documents, noting patterns. Notes were taken during the interviews and most interviews were recorded digitally, with permission, and were

transcribed. As I transcribed interviews and as I reviewed documents and handwritten notes, I identified and noted themes which emerged. The notes were imported as data into handwritten grids and electronic spreadsheets. I also grouped the data into sections to better track the sources. Each interview respondent, for example, had a separate column within their respective subsection (i.e. volunteer, school principal or supervisor, regional administrator, program administrator, national official). As mentioned, the majority of the data was analyzed using numerous physical worksheets and MS Excel, in which I stored and expanded emic and etic codes. The emic, or inductive, codes relied heavily on prevailing theories for South-South cooperation along with suggested characteristics for North-South aid. Etic, or deductive, codes emerged throughout the data collection and data analysis process. Any patterns, along with discrepant data, were noted. Themes which were repeatedly raised in conversations or through other collected artifacts were ranked. The primary themes were later analyzed within the context of existing literature and related theories. These themes are presented with supporting evidence and frame the findings sections within Chapters 4 and 5.

Timeline

This research was loosely conducted in three general phases. Research activities in both phase one and phase two took place within the donor countries and centered on gathering information on national-level activities and perceptions related to sending international teaching volunteers to Namibia. As mentioned earlier, phase one lasted approximately one month and took place in Washington, DC, focusing on data more exclusively related to the U.S. Peace Corps. Phase two took place in Nigeria and was

also about four weeks. The time was spent building trust and relationships; learning how to navigate within new political, cultural, and social environments; and gathering relevant data. The majority of the time was spent within the capital of Abuja, and focused on data more exclusively related to the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps. A trip was also made to Lagos to interview relevant TAC personnel and gather data from the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). Phase three took place in various parts of Namibia and comprised the bulk of the study period – four months. During this phase, time was split between the capital, Windhoek, and schools within five participating regions.

Ethical Considerations

This research adopted a utilitarian approach to assessing and managing ethical issues whereby all effort was made to “to ensure that benefits are sufficiently large relative to costs” (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p.100). Full Teachers College Columbia University Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained prior to entering the field and all required protocols for confidentiality and anonymity were observed. I provided all prospective participants with an explanation of the study. Those who were willing to participate signed consent forms or gave oral consent.

Limitations of the Study

New democracy and post-Independence restructuring resulted in continuous changes throughout the study and through analysis. Education reform measures led to changes in school leadership and even the number of regions shifted by the end of the writing phase of the dissertation. Whenever relevant, notes are included to keep the study and findings in accurate context.

The disputed definitions of key terms such as foreign aid, volunteerism, development, and the global South will challenge consistent analysis and easy generalizations of findings. Some scholars argue that with rapidly increasing globalization of ideas and information, the “boundaries between the North and the South and developed and developing are blurring and being replaced by heterogeneous and complex identity formations with individuals holding multiple affinities” which would question the idea of a distinct global North or global South (McBride & Daftary, 2005, p.9). Further, “...countries in Latin America—with the exception of Cuba—have historically been neither that consistent, nor united, in their positions toward the West/North. Nor has their alliance with the South always been that solid” (Swart & Lund, 2011, p. 8). Nonetheless, the global South, in differing names, such as the Third World or the developing world, has long and regularly been embraced as a distinctive political block, with evident alliances and policies at multiple levels.

Another limitation of the study relates to the unique policy and aid relationship that is represented by the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps. While rich localized content has undoubtedly been provided through this study, it is unclear whether the findings are broadly generalizable. Within the African continent, for example, TAC has no readily identifiable counterpart (Adebanwi, 2012). Information about the program, however, offers guidance to additional countries or international organizations wishing to explore similar types of transfers. Similarly, this case study observed country-specific instances of cross-national educational transfer which is necessary to provide rich evidence of the localization of borrowing.

The focus on teaching volunteers in Namibia during a specific time-period limited the size of the research population for the study makes it challenging to fully ensure anonymity of the research sample. It is possible that the identity of participants may be deduced from reports or articles produced from the study. Similarly, based on a small research population, participants may be less forthcoming in their discussions or any possible open critiques about policies and operations. To manage this limitation, special care was taken to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of data and participants and such strategies were communicated to all involved in the research. Specific percentages, as well as exact titles and service years are sometimes withheld in order to mask the identity of administrators and volunteers referenced in respective sections of this report.

Nigeria Technical Aid Corps leadership consists of diplomats and officers of the Nigeria Foreign Service based in embassies and High Commissions abroad. Upon planning the formal study, it was discovered that there is wide mobility in the Nigerian Foreign Service. As such, it was difficult to track and identify individuals with extensive experience with the Nigeria TAC program in Namibia. Indeed, during the actual study, three TAC program and embassy staff I approached and interviewed in Windhoek moved from Namibia before the conclusion of the fieldwork period, primarily as a result of Foreign Service examination and promotion activities.

Aggressive education reform initiatives similarly shuffled school and regional administration leadership in Namibia. At least four principals and school administrators changed schools shortly after I interviewed them. Moreover, some veteran principals were newly appointed to schools targeted for interviews and were thus unable to provide insight into the history of the volunteer programs in their new school. In managing these

two related limitations, the primary focus of the research is on the last five full years of the program's operation (2008-2012). I also allowed principals of schools to discuss their experience with teaching volunteer programs from the previous schools. As a result of administration-shuffling, records were also especially difficult to locate. A 1993 bilateral agreement for TAC Namibia mentioned in a 2007 MOE report, for example, never surfaced.

Yet another limitation of the study relates to the broad sweep of the investigation. Details at a single level may be brushed over in order to accommodate input at multiple levels. Insight on indigenization, for instance may have been strengthened through input at regional and school-levels, such as from advisory teachers. Noting the limitation of depth helps to manage the challenge and maintain the broader focus of the study.

Finally, in reviewed studies of Nigeria's domestic and international volunteer programs, access to material and research findings was noted as a challenge (Patel & Wilson, 2004). In regards to international volunteer service and domestic service programs, "program evaluation research has been undertaken in Nigeria and Kenya, but the findings of these studies are not in the public domain" (Patel & Wilson, 2004, p.34S). For the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, trust-building was necessary to gain access to information and data. Numerous publications were obtained from the Nigeria TAC Directorate as well as from the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs and individual Foreign Affairs officials that were met along the way. These materials did not appear readily available in (U.S. institutions). Bureaucracies and protocols of the U.S. Peace Corps, on the other hand, led to limitations in the collection of data for Peace Corps across all targeted levels.

A brief review and analysis of the apparent resistance, or differential cooperation, of the U.S. Peace Corps to the research is instructive. Officials at the U.S. Peace Corps Headquarters in Washington, DC and in Windhoek, Namibia were first contacted regarding this dissertation research in May, 2012. A specialized research proposal along with various supplementary documents, were submitted, as requested, to U.S. Peace Corps. I initiated at least one communique, on average, each month for follow-up; however, as of June 2013, no final decision regarding formal participation had been made. In addition, guidance was given to the researcher to await decision and research protocols from U.S. Peace Corps Headquarters prior to contacting any currently-serving volunteers in the field. Thus, while connections were made with Peace Corps volunteers during the study, the conversations were kept informal and off-the-record.

There was more success through two separate formal Freedom of Information Act(FOIA) requests. Each FOIA request, however, was marked by notable delays.

Researcher Positionality and Access Points

This research stemmed, in part, from 18 months I spent as an international education volunteer in Namibia during 2009 and 2010, as well as preliminary research I conducted as a Summer 2011 Columbia University Institute of African Studies Leitner Fellow. The Education Minister and Permanent Secretary, along with members of education directorates who oversee development assistance, shared substantial time and archival material in preparation for this research. The professional working relationships, respect, and trust I built with these individuals during my time in volunteer service undoubtedly helped facilitate access and familiarity to key personnel, offices, and information. This was especially important in Namibia when attempting to understand

the processes of the volunteer programs. I was able to recognize individual titles, offices, and ask correct follow-up questions to ensure I approached the appropriate offices and persons. It was still confusing, at-times, but at least I had some background in the navigating the “organogram” of the National and Regional Ministries of Education.

I secured initial contacts in Nigeria through a U.S.-based Nigerian anthropologist and professor who recently conducted research on TAC in the Gambia. I also received contact leads through senior leadership of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, who were aware of my research.

Nigeria Technical Aid Corps staff and other government officials of Nigeria were outwardly welcoming and embraced my study. There was almost a sense of kinship felt by me as I spoke with officials, (possibly due to my visible membership in the global African or Black Diaspora.) I am a Black American woman with my hair fashioned in long dreadlocks. I was addressed as, “My Sistah” by most individuals, mainly male Nigerians, who greeted me throughout my time in the country. When I entered the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps Headquarters building for my first meeting, I was mistaken for a Nigerian TAC applicant and instructed to sign-in accordingly and leave my application materials at a desk through a set of main doors. During my interactions with the Technical Aid Corps Directorate, three of the top four administrators tended to me exclusively. Shortly after arriving in Abuja, I also established a connection with a former member of the Nigerian Foreign Service who knew some of the staff in the TAC office, which allowed me to “name-drop” and gain familiarity more quickly. Finally, during my time in Abuja, upon the suggestion of a former international education colleague at the College Board in Washington, DC, I participated in a few college fair activities

sponsored by the U.S. Embassy EducationUSA project. This afforded me the opportunity to build more trust and relationships with local educators who in turn, helped me better navigate the city.

My identity as an American and citizen of a large donor country also had influence on my interactions within Namibia. Numerous administrators sought insight on the Peace Corps process or information on how they could successfully get a Peace Corps volunteer placed at the school. I provided insight when possible, but continuously presented it through my identity as an apolitical scholar, student, and researcher, in contrast to a government employee, aid worker, or development officer.

I was employed in the U.S. Peace Corps Office of Returned Volunteer Services at Washington, DC Headquarters for three years, a status I frequently disclosed when meeting current and former U.S. Peace Corps personnel and volunteers. This appeared to help in creating a sense of connection with the current and former volunteers, as well as with most current and former staff. As such, social conversation and informal interactions were fluid. Unexpectedly, my tenure with Peace Corps Headquarters did not appear to assist in my formal requests presented to the agency. My access to prospective respondents was restricted by overarching and governing bureaucracies and protocols. After a period of twelve months, approval had not been granted (although neither had it been denied) for my request to interview current U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers and staff.

My language facility was adequate, as English is my primary language and is also the national language of the U.S.A, Namibia, and Nigeria.

Chapter IV

THE NIGERIA TECHNICAL AID CORPS IN NAMIBIA (2008-2012)

Namibia has become a case study of how Nigeria can use its tremendous goodwill to grow its economy back home with mutual benefit to both countries. TAC is a success story. And the benefits come not only in form of capacity building and education but also goodwill. We can't quantify this in monetary terms. (former Nigerian High Commissioner to Namibia, Prince Adegboyega Ariyo, cited in Obayuwana, 2011, p.32)

In this chapter, I will provide an historical account specifically of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps in Namibia over the past five years (2008-2012). A brief overall description of TAC's history is provided in Chapter 1; however, what follows is a more in-depth review based on data and evidence gathered specifically through this research. Details on the TAC program's appeal and history in Namibia's education sector, along the educational borrowing four-stage model of attraction, decision, implementation, and indigenization, structure the presentation of findings in this section.

Overview

Findings from this research reveal that three-hundred twenty two (322) Nigerian TAC volunteers were deployed to Namibia between 1990 and 2011, the majority of which have been in the education sector (Nigeria High Commission of Windhoek[NHCW], 2011; Obayuwana, 2011). About 48 volunteers completed service in the period between 2008 and 2011 (NMOE Internal Memo, n.d.). The Namibia government noted that the Technical Aid Corps "scheme went into a period of hiatus due to some technical reasons..." (NMOE, 2007, section 3). The Nigeria High Commission of Windhoek(2011) also notes that, "The TAC program in Namibia was suspended

between 1999 and 2006” (p.38). There is little consensus, however, on the main drivers of the suspension. An MOE respondent contends that the program stopped during the Sani Abacha administration adding that the TAC program in Namibia may have been affected by “disunity activities” (MOE Interview, 11/9/12). The TAC Directorate claims that Nigeria’s suspension by the Commonwealth Organization in 1996 “slowed down the tempo” of the program (DTAC, 2002, p.19).

Attraction

In order to develop an understanding of how the Namibian government became aware and interested in the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer program, interviews were conducted with key senior government officials who were involved in the development of the bilateral agreement, and program officials were approached for input. Partnership agreements governing each program, as well as historical documents, press releases, and reports were also collected and reviewed.

Findings did not reveal much clarity on the origin and initial stimulus of the TAC program in Namibia. The Nigeria High Commission in Windhoek suggests that TAC began in Namibia around Independence, noting that “Nigeria first sent a batch of 22 science/mathematics teachers during 1990/93” (NHCW, 2011, p.38). The Namibia Ministry of Education also formally notes that “...a total of 49 volunteers in various professional fields were deployed to the country in 1991...” and “...a TAC Country Agreement between Namibia and Nigeria was signed in 1993” (NMOE, 2007, section 3). An MOE official commented, however, that “No one could really say what happened to the earlier agreements of TAC” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12).

During interviews, however, various national, regional and school officials reported that Nigerian Volunteers came through the United Nations in the years near Namibia's Independence (MOE Interviews: 11/9/12; 12/7/12; Regional Interviews: 2/5/13).

The first set of volunteers that we got immediately after Independence were UN volunteers that were brought in under the auspices of UNDP...For the Nigerians, a good number of them came, not so much as TAC volunteers, but they came in under UN auspices, that first group that we got...It was not until I think in the early 2000 that we started getting, negotiating for the Nigerian Volunteer that were now coming as a result of a bilateral agreement between the two states so that we could now begin using Nigerians to come and assist us in various areas. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

A regional official who was also a principal and a regional inspector, shared that he worked with Nigerian volunteers in the schools and region shortly after Independence and believes they were from the United Nations program (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13).

More clarity, yet not without debate, was provided on why and how the TAC program began talks for resuscitation within the past decade. According to Nigerian and Namibian sources, "A formal renewal of the memorandum of understanding was begun in 2006" and a formal memorandum of understanding was signed by the Namibia Ministry of Education and the Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 25, 2007 (NHCW, 2011, p.38, Government of the Republic of Namibia & Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2007). The first group of 30 TAC volunteers under the new contract were deployed to Namibia as science and mathematics teachers in 2008 (GRN, 2010; NHCW, 2011).

From fieldwork discussions and gathered records, primary catalysts of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps in Namibia were: radical education reform; growth in South-South Cooperative initiatives; revival of Pan-Africanism; Nigeria's political and economic

ambitions; and Nigeria's desire to mend a negative reputation abroad. Additional drivers of attraction were attributed to individual political or personal agendas. Specifically, six primary themes emerged related to the attraction of TAC to Namibia: 1)securing math and science technical support; 2)supporting South-South cooperation; 3)embracing Pan-Africanism; 4)advancing personal agendas; 5)political and economic posturing; and 6)rebuilding cultural image and fostering cultural exchange.

The majority of interviews and archival documents reveal that the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps program was sought as a way to specifically address the technical shortages in mathematics and science education immediately after the colonial period, both through simply filling the gap with foreign teachers and through in-direct and direct capacity-building. The Nigeria High Commission of Windhoek (2011) shares that "Nigeria and Namibia signed a Technical Aid Corps Agreement to tackle the shortage of skilled man power program facing Namibia after her independence" (p.38).

Respondents claimed that while schools were getting help, most of the volunteers, from the UK and from the USA, were brought in to help implement the English language policy, not to close the math and science gap (MOE Interview, 12/7/12). Another MOE respondent added that while English language support was also needed at Independence, it was deliberately not requested of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps partnership because of the challenges in comprehending the English dialect of many Nigerians.

anything that has to do with maths or sciences, as well as ICTs and other-related, we are okay, but no languages, because our previous experience was that it took us a while because of the West African accent for our kids to catch up. So there was a problem. And, it's hard, it's a bit difficult to comprehend, in most cases, so we had kept English out of the requests that we were making for Nigeria and concentrate on mathematics and science. Science being: biology, chemistry, physics. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

The focus on mathematics and science was also confirmed in internal memos to regional directors who requested Nigeria TAC volunteers outside of those subjects. An internal Ministry of Education letter attached to the tentative assignment list for TAC Volunteers stated, “Note that some requests could not be met because the subject areas requested for do not form part of the overall bilateral agreement between Namibia and Nigeria. These are mainly commercial and Language areas” (NMOE, 2008c). Another internal Ministry of Education memo shared,

Out of all requests received, we could only accommodate those in the fields of Mathematics, Computer Science and Physical Science. Some regions requested services of volunteer teachers in subjects that are not covered by the agreement such as English, Business Studies and Business Management. (NMOE, 2008b)

While past and present senior administrators in the Namibia Ministry of Education were in consensus that the primary mission of the TAC agreement was to support the technical needs for mathematics and science teachers, respondents, both inside and outside of the policy-making arena, labeled or acknowledged the labeling of the revived agreement or partnership, “Becky’s Project,” after one of the central catalysts of the revival. The respondents noted that the TAC resuscitation was sometimes referred to as “Becky’s Project” because of the “Nigerian connection” of the Deputy Minister of Education at the time, Dr. Rebecca “Becky” Ndjoze-Ojo (MOE Interview, 12/7/12). She was appointed by the president as one of six technocrats, or technical experts, to help run line ministries and signed the 2006 TAC agreement on behalf of the Namibian Ministry of Education. “Dr. Becky” was a school teacher and university lecturer and professor in both Namibia and Nigeria. Her spouse is Nigerian.

Other interviews and gathered documents counter the theory of a distinct personal agenda. According to a report authored by the Ministry of Education, “The Namibian authorities were approached by the Nigerian authorities to revive an agreement that was in place some years ago” (NMOE, 2007, section 3). Sources confirm that the Nigerian President Yar Adua and First Lady conducted a State Visit to Namibia and spoke of reviving TAC in Namibia in 2006. One Ministry of Education respondent acknowledged the accusation of TAC Namibia being driven by a personal agenda, yet debated this claim noting,

It has to do with...the regions. The people there need science teachers...the science teachers, the good science teachers remain in the cities and towns because they are in high demand, so they never really seep through to the villages...TAC...should be revived around providing science teachers to the villages. And that’s what happened. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

South-South cooperation is mentioned in multiple documents about TAC published by Nigerian authorities and scholars. Interviews with former and current Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials confirmed this focus on South-South cooperation. Namibian respondents also expressed direct support for South-South Cooperation. The former Deputy Minister of Education, speaking on reform initiatives stated, “...we base our hope in...assistance from our Sister countries. Nigeria has been playing this supportive role as far back as the era of the independence struggle and it’s liberation effort cannot be overemphasized” (quoted in Yemi-Ladejobi, 2008). Another report noted that in a meeting between the Ministries of Education in Namibia and Nigeria,

The need was expressed for institutions in both countries to collaborate in areas to be identified by the two institutions. This is particularly important as far as South-South Cooperation is concerned. In other words, we need to look for areas

where each institution has a competitive advantage and capitalize on those areas. (Government of the Republic of Namibia [GRN], 2007, p.3)

In addition to comments about South-South Cooperation in general, the opportunity for cooperative work specifically with African governments was raised on the part of both the Nigerian and Namibian governments. Throughout the majority of the interviews and archival materials, a general tone of pan-Africanism and continuity of support appears as part of Nigeria's foreign policy, and by extension, as part of the Technical Aid Corps. According to a past chairman of TAC,

(TAC's) sustenance and expansion over the years underscore the (Nigerian) Government's acceptance of the country's manifest destiny as the largest concentration of black people in the world, to assist needy countries in the black Diaspora. (DTAC, 2002, p.12)

A TAC official interviewed for this study also highlighted a quote from a former Nigeria Minister of Foreign Affairs board member which notes that Nigeria,

...in 1960, adopted a foreign policy that underscores good neighbourliness, intra-African cooperation, principle of self-help and African solidarity as part of the directing principles to guide Africa as cornerstone of her foreign policy. It is also within this framework that Nigeria's Technical Aid Corps Scheme was established in 1987. (Ojo Maduekwe, former Nigeria Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Daura, 2010a, p. xvii)

One respondent from the Namibian government shared in regards to TAC Namibia that, "In particular, we thought it was a good example for Inter-African cooperation...Not much celebrated, but is unique in its own as a model of Africa-to-Africa cooperation..." (MOE2 Interview, 11/9/12). The respondent went on to say that many countries and governments are good at talking political solidarity, but when it comes to practice, "we don't really do it...Inter-African technical cooperation agreement was more on-paper, no money was placed behind it."

A minority of informants shared that TAC in Namibia was used to offer Black African leadership in classrooms not used to interacting with Whites as equals. One respondent noted,

...the Blacks...they were more acceptable, more acceptable to work with, because we could associate...It's that that we needed to work around, so that we clearly first find ourselves...we start with the known to the unknown. (MOE1 Interview, 12/7/12)

Another respondent similarly addressed the significance of having other Africans as volunteer teachers, noting,

It was necessary then, because remember we are coming from an Apartheid system where White does not equal Black. So White was always superior, and I always kept on saying, if we made a mistake to start bringing White, then maybe most of our schools would have been half-empty because they are looking at this White person, these kids, because maybe it is for the first time. The only time they knew a White person, it is only in a subservient relation where instructions are given, and you carry them out or else you are a victim. So, maybe it was necessary at the time of Independence. (MOE Interview, 7/29/11)

Also as mentioned earlier, according to a few career national and regional Ministry of Education officials, the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps in Namibia was pushed, in part, with a diverse United Nations Volunteers program, which specifically recruited African nationals to serve.

From the Nigerian side, various informants shared political and economic posturing as catalysts for introducing and supporting TAC in host countries. The original TAC protagonist has been adamant in writing, public speeches, and in interviews about the importance of TAC in strengthening the national economy (Akinyemi, 2010). Findings reveal that the sentiment still appears very much a part of the current rationale for TAC in Namibia. The Nigerian High Commission of Namibia shared that "It is

hoped that the good will built through this technical cooperation will boost cooperation between Nigeria and Namibia in other areas” (NHCW, 2011, p.39).

The opportunity for TAC in Namibia to promote cultural exchange and impact Nigeria’s public and international image was raised by both Nigerian and Namibian respondents. All of the respondents who mentioned public image were in consensus that Nigeria had a negative reputation to manage. One Nigeria Foreign Affairs official shared, “there is an anti-Nigeria sentiment abroad, particularly in Africa” (MFA Interview, 10/6/12). The embassy of Nigeria in Windhoek declared that “It is also hoped that the Namibian and the Nigerian governments will continue this programme in order to expand on avenues of better understanding of each state of the other” (NHCW, 2011, p.39).

Interviews revealed considerable anecdotal faith in the ability of the TAC program to subtly alter or at least challenge conceptions of Nigerians in host countries. TAC protagonist Professor Bolaji Akinyemi recalled a comment at the TAC 20th anniversary retreat that “the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance in Namibia...talked about 419 Nigeria and credit cards fraudsters but still admitted that it was a Nigerian who attended to them and saved their lives” (Akinyemi, 2010, p.8-9).

Decision

Findings reveal that the borrowing of Nigerian teachers into Namibia’s education sector was primarily a practical decision, especially in the 5 years of central focus for this study. Details of the decision to utilize the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteer program in Namibia are mainly rooted in formal memorandums of understanding (MOUs) between the Namibian Ministry of Education and the Nigerian

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The 2007 Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Namibia Ministry of Education and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on Technical Human Resource Assistance, hereafter referred to as TAC Namibia Country Agreement or MOU, states that, “at the request of Namibia, Nigeria shall send TAC Volunteers to Namibia for a period of two(2) years” (Government of the Republic of Namibia & Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2007, B1, p.3).

After stating the overall purpose of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps Scheme, the implementing agreement states that the decision to host the program in Namibia was made to promote mutual exchange.

...Namibia is desirous of participating in and deriving for its peoples some of the benefits contained in the Scheme and for the purposes of further cementing the bilateral relations existing between Nigeria and Namibia in the spirit of mutual co-operation and development...” (TAC Namibia Country Agreement, 2007, p. 2)

The agreement outlines specific responsibilities and expectations of the Nigerian, or donor, government, the Namibian, or “recipient” government and Technical Aid Corp Volunteers. More details about the stipulations outlined in the TAC Namibia Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) will be provided in appropriate sections which follow.

Implementation

Implementation of the TAC program in Namibia was reviewed in respect to volunteer recruitment, selection, placement, and orientation. Significant actors in the TAC implementation process were noted to include: TAC program staff, national Namibia Ministry of Education officials, regional MOE officials, and school administrators.

Recruitment

Details about the recruitment systems came primarily through reviews of recruitment materials, program advertisements, and interviews with TAC program management. Additional information was gleaned through interviews with TAC volunteers. All findings indicate that the Namibian government does not play a role in recruiting TAC volunteers for service in their country. As the following section will reveal, however, Namibia appears to play an active role in selection of which Nigerian TAC volunteers are ultimately invited into their country.

Technical Aid Corps documents note that only Nigerian citizens are eligible to apply to TAC. As shown in figure 5, to qualify to become a secondary school teaching volunteer in the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching program, an applicant must have earned a college degree and a teaching certification, completed a year of teaching in the national service or have been officially exempted from such service, and have a minimum of three years of teaching beyond the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) experience (TAC Recruitment Advertisement, 2012).

Figure 5. Excerpts from Nigeria TAC Recruitment Advertisement

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Nigerian Professionals for recruitment into the Nigerian Technical Aid Corps Scheme for the 2012-2014 Biennium. The Scheme is designed to provide manpower assistance in specific areas, on request, from African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Countries. Prospective candidates are therefore expected to be highly competent in their respective professions and of impeccable character...

ELIGIBILITY:

- a) Candidates must be in possession of a First Degree or its equivalent in designated disciplines from recognized Universities;
- b) They must have at least 3 years post NYSC experience;
- c) Candidates applying as Artisans must possess the Full City and Guilds certificate and other relevant professional certificates in their respective trades;
- d) Additional higher degrees, as well as ability to communicate in French, Spanish and Portuguese Languages may be an added advantage;
- e) Lecturers in all disciplines must possess a PHD or Masters Degree with a minimum of five years lecturing experience;
- f) Knowledge of ICT is compulsory.

(Source: TAC Recruitment Advertisement, 2012)

While the TAC program has two websites – one through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and one managed directly by the TAC Directorate, the program did not appear aggressively marketed by the Nigerian government, for the purposes of volunteer recruitment. Findings revealed that the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps only recruits once every two years and only during a six-week application period (TAC Interviews, 10/19/12). An application period was underway at the time of data collection in Abuja, allowing observation of the process and materials. TAC officials noted that advertisements for the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps are placed in four newspapers for only two days at the start of the recruitment “biennium” (TAC Interviews, 10/19/12). Within the newspaper advertisement for 2012, the term “volunteer” is not used, nor is the comprehensive website mentioned. There were also no apparent billboards or recruitment offices, aside from the TAC Directorate Headquarters, to promote the

program and solicit applicants. Despite apparent minimal direct outreach, gathered documents and reports reveal that interest in TAC, as evident through the number of applications submitted and received, is overwhelming. According to the TAC Directorate, more than 150,000 individuals submitted applications during the 2006-2008 and subsequences recruitment period (Daura, 2010b; TAC Interview, 10/19/12).

Interviewed TAC volunteers shared that they first learned of the TAC program in one of four primary ways: through newspaper ads (60%), through friends who had joined in previous years (25%), through government officials or employers (12.5%), and through the presence of TAC sensitization activities(namely interviews and orientations) in their town(12.5%). As shown in Table 6 below, interview and orientation locations are held in different geopolitical zones each biennium. According to the TAC Directorate, this is done to comply with the Nigeria Federal Character Commission Guidelines, affording equal opportunity for participation and representation across the country. A few volunteers reportedly learned of TAC when large contingencies of participants traveled to the respective respondent's home city/town for interviews or orientations. Approximately 10,000 prospective volunteers are invited to interviews, while around 1,500 are selected for orientation (TAC interviews, 10/17/12; 10/19/12; Daura, 2010b)

Table 6. TAC Interview and Orientation Sites: 2002-2012

TAC Recruitment Biennium	Interview City/Town, STATE, (geopolitical zone)	Orientation City/Town, STATE, (geopolitical zone)
2012-2014	Abeokuta, OGUN, (SW)	Abuja, FCT, (NC)
2010-2012	Enugu, ENUGU, (SE)	Kaduna, KADUNA, (NW)
2008-2010	Calabar, CROSS RIVERS, (SS)	Makurdi, BENUE, (NC)
2006-2008	Kano, KANO, (NW)	Owerri, IMO, (SE)

2004-2006	Lokoja, KOGI, (NC)	Akure, ONDO, (SW)
2002-2004	Akwa Ibom, OYO, (SW)	Bauchi, BAUCHI, (NE)

Sources: MFA Press Releases, MFA/TAC Interviews, Archival Materials

Selection

Respondents in Namibia and Nigeria reported that the TAC program has selection processes on two levels, one in Nigeria, and one within Namibia, at the country-level.

Within Nigeria, two committees are reportedly responsible for selecting TAC applicants for service: the screening committee and the selection committee. According to the

Technical Aid Corps Handbook,

The Screening Committee whose membership is drawn from professional bodies, relevant Ministries and specialized agencies, conducts interviews of shortlisted candidates drawn from the overall applicants for the year. The Selection Committee, which has similar membership, on the other hand is vested with the responsibility of making the final selection of Volunteers based on performance during interview; nature of requests of beneficiary countries and geographical spread. (TAC Handbook, n.d, p.9, received 10/19/12, TAC Directorate, Abuja)

All of the current and former TAC volunteers interviewed reported that they learned they were selected through two separate advertisements in the newspaper. One advertisement was the short-list for interviews, while the second advertisement was the final list of those candidates who were selected for orientation.

Figure 6. Sampling of TAC Interview Questions

Professional Knowledge • Tell me the meaning of force. • State Newton's Second Law of Motion. • Explain inertia. • What is plasmosis? Current Affairs • Explain the Nigerian coat of arms. • Who is the Commissioner of Education for the Plateau State? • Who is the current Secretary-General of the UN? • Name Nigeria's geo-political zones Personal Motivation • Why do you want to volunteer? Source: Current and Former Secondary School Math and Science Teaching Volunteers, Nigeria Technical Aid Corps

Respondents reported that volunteers who are short-listed must participate in an interview led by a panel of technical experts and subject specialists. According to the Volunteers, there were typically about five other TAC candidates in the room being interviewed by the panelists. All of the current and former TAC volunteers interviewed remembered at least one specific question asked during their interview. The interview questions fell into three categories: professional knowledge, current national and global affairs, and personal motivation for service, as shown in Figure 6.

Findings reveal that individuals selected to become TAC Volunteers are required to attend an orientation in Nigeria, after which time they will enter a national database. Orientation activities take place every two years in one of the six geo-political zones of the country. Findings consistently revealed that a Volunteer remains in a national

database until a prospective host-country submits a request for someone in his/her area of specialty and screens his/her CV for adequacy in placement. Current and former volunteers report spending anywhere from six months to four years in the database before being actually invited and selected for deployment to Namibia.

Findings consistently revealed that once volunteers are selected in Nigeria, the TAC Directorate sends a particular number of CVs to the Namibia Ministry of Education(MOE) based on a request for a specific number of teaching volunteers provided by the Namibia Ministry of Education. Once the Nigerian volunteers are short-listed, a Namibian government official reported, “We have our own selection committee where we are looking at subject specialization, the training, experience, and all that. And based on that, we also do our own final selection which we then pass on to the Embassy” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12). Another MOE respondent noted that TAC Volunteers needed very specific professional qualifications, stating that,

They have to have a degree that is science-related, either in chemistry, biology, maths, and physics... And they needed to be graduates so that they will teach better science, rather than having an NCE, the National Certificate of Education, or some other equivalence in the Nigerian education system. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

Findings reveal that members of the Namibian selection committee were instructed to not accept participation in the Nigeria National Youth Service Corps as teaching experience, even though participants actually served as full-time teachers during their NYSC year (GRN Internal Memo, 11 Jan 2008).

Respondents at the national level and volunteer-level were very clear and very much in consensus about the selection process, especially how placement requests or needs inform which volunteers get invited to come to Namibia. National Ministry of Education respondents share that the regional offices are aware of the process. “We can’t

recruit without having inform the regions because the needs are normally determined by the regions” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12).

normally PQA, the Department of Formal Education, will send information through the regional directorates indicating that, “You are hereby informed that if your region requires some Nigerian volunteers, please do indicate in which fields, in which schools you are required, and so on, and please bear in mind the conditions attached.” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

Regional officials and school administrators, on the other hand, often reported confusion or claimed to be unaware of how volunteers are recruited and selected. These findings were among the first indicators of ambiguity in the concept of local ownership. The most common confusion at the regional level was the timeline for bringing TAC volunteers into Namibia. Comments by many regional administrators suggest that the Volunteers were chosen for Namibia prior to the region’s request, leaving the regions to choose from or simply take whomever Nigeria sent as Volunteers.

Two Namibian respondents also noted concerns about wanting to have Christian volunteers, rather than Muslim volunteers. One principal noted,

After informing the Head of Department about (recruiting TAC Volunteers), he said that previously, he had two previous teachers from Nigeria. And he was warning me that I must make sure that the one we must get must be a kind of Christian because we all here are Christian people so that he could fit in with us. So the kind of experience that they had that one was, maybe, you know the stories of Nigeria, between the Christians and the what, so that we could not experience that kind of problem. So we tried before the time to solve this problem. (R3/S3 Principal Interview, 1/17/13)

A national official also commented on potential challenges with hosting Muslim volunteers noting,

You find that if you ask for these teachers that you are going to get, “This one is a Muslim, please make sure that on Friday, or make sure that this...” So, you are telling your people, you know, if you don’t do that, then it becomes a very serious issue, which is purely a misunderstanding, because I don’t know, I am not a

Muslim, so I don't know how Muslims, how many times a day they pray, and what is so significant about Friday, and all those things. So but that, you have to try to find a way of letting your people know that they can accommodate because these are adults that are now, they are into a pattern and to them, those things are not small. You make a mistake, it's a big thing. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

Restrictions, preferences, or notes about a volunteer's religious orientation, however, was not written into any official policy or contract between the two governments or within Namibia's host regions and institutions. Recruitment within Nigeria is noted to follow the Federal Character Commission, which requires that ethno-regional diversity is evident in the composition of the TAC volunteers selected each biennium. According to the guidelines, "Each state of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory shall be equitably represented in all national constitutions and in public enterprises and organizations" (Appendix B). Religious diversity is not mentioned but may be implied because of the predominance of particular religious groups in some geopolitical zones.

Placement

Insight into the placement processes of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps was gathered through interviews with Namibian Ministry of Education officials at the national and regional level, as well as through interviews with secondary school principals. Information was also provided by the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Abuja and at the Nigeria High Commission in Windhoek. Supplemental details were provided through the TAC website and publications.

The Deputy Director of Region 1 reported that the placement process for TAC volunteers was a "rushed job." They were reportedly left to quickly poll schools in their region for need and to simply indicate their assessed "needs" to the national office by letter or list (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13).

There was inconsistency in how school-level respondents noted they were informed about the potential for TAC placements. Some respondents claimed that letters were sent to schools from the regional office, while others claim that they initiated contact with appropriate parties.

According to TAC and the National MOE, the Namibia Ministry of Education sends a notice/letter to the thirteen regional education ministry directors indicating the potential availability of Nigerian math and science teaching volunteers for the secondary schools. In the letter, the regions are requested to survey their schools and indicate if there are actual needs and abilities to host the Nigerian volunteer teachers. One letter read,

We would like to find out from your respective offices, whether a need exists in your region/directorate/institution to utilize the services of the Nigerian Volunteer teachers in the areas of Maths and Science related subjects. (NMOE, 2008a)

Some schools, however, reported that they do not recall receiving letters. A principal reported,

We have heard that the government is recruiting or they have got now Nigerian teachers, so I opt for getting one in science. ... They did not send a letter. It was on the news, on NBC¹ ...and after that I just jump in and try to get one (laughs). So there was no communication between the school and the government and region. I am the one who have approach them to get one. (R3/S3 Principal Interview, 1/17/13)

The principal proceeded to work through the region's Chief Education Officer and the Subject Advisory Teacher for mathematics and science to lobby for a TAC volunteer.

¹ NBC, or the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation, is a local television station.

Letters advertising TAC to regions and schools were obtained for earlier years but not as easy to find for more recent years. The letters appear to come out every two years, to coincide with the TAC Biennium. Interviews with Namibia MOE staff support this finding suggesting that there is currently less aggressiveness in getting the word out to potential host regions and schools when compared to activities related to the TAC Namibia volunteer cohort in 2008. When asked if regions were informed about TAC through written correspondence, a respondent from the national Ministry of Education answered,

Yes, through letter...that was from the beginning when we were started, when we were getting TAC volunteers, but as of now, the schools are aware of the agreement between TAC and the Ministry of Education. (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

A few schools sought volunteers for both instruction and staff development. Most school requests were submitted in writing. The following excerpt is from a letter written to the Chief Inspector of the school administrator's region.

In pursuance of a staff and school board decision, we herewith most urgently request your good office to grant us the much-needed assistance of two volunteers, one for mathematics and one for physical science. As you are aware, our school has been struggling to fill the Head of Department post for this very department. We had two young, inexperienced teachers appointed in May 2007 in our science department. We do not have any equipped teacher to guide them. Our results in these two subjects are major reasons for concern. Nigeria is ranked number two in Africa for their education system in Africa, out of 53 countries...We therefore appeal to you to come to our rescue. (Appendix E)

Relatedly, among the various respondents, there were differences in why Volunteers were reportedly placed. In a letter to schools, the Namibian Ministry of Education cautioned, "It should...be borne in mind that dire scarcity of adequately trained or qualified local staff should be the driving force to request for assistance..." (NMOE, 2009). This was the official line. Findings about how TAC placement works,

however, grouped into four main areas: explicit technical need; observed technical need; no apparent need; and unclear decisions.

A shortage of staff and a need to supplement the number of teachers was commonly mentioned at the regional and school levels. These school and regional administrators shared that TAC volunteers were sought to meet a need for qualified teachers across the school levels. According to the principal of School 1B,

We have teachers who are not mobile, who cannot move between subject area or grades. We have three teachers who are only specialized to teach in junior secondary. They are not trained to teach these subjects at the senior level. (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13)

Others expressed the need for TAC to help build the capacity of their permanent teaching staff. One regional education administrator noted,

There was a shortage of mathematics and science teachers. And then they (TAC Volunteers) came in to fill the gap. But at the same time, it was also an exercise that we hoped would then transfer the skills from a volunteer to a Namibian teacher, because our emphasis had been that this person would be closely working with a Namibian counterpart. And... it did not work well in all instances, but some here and there, yes. (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13)

Two principals in region 4 said they requested TAC volunteers in one area of specialization, but received volunteers trained to teach some other subject. One noted, “We asked for mathematics and physical science, but we only got a biology teacher” adding that there was not any shortage of biology teachers at the school and stating, “I don’t know how these people were placed” (R4/S4 Principal Interview, 2/5/13).

There were two regions that were reportedly resistant to the opportunity for Nigerian volunteers. A need or gap was observed by a National MOE official, yet a regional official claimed to not have a need. “...I know that they need a science teacher so you can’t tell me, as a region sitting in XY that you don’t need a science teacher in 12,

because I've been there" (MOE Interview, 12/7/12). In these cases, regional and school-level administrators were somewhat pressured into requesting volunteers.

There were also reports of three schools that received a TAC volunteer, yet did not actually make any request. One principal who hosted a mathematics and biology volunteer noted,

We did not need any volunteer, only for computer...Apparently, they were supposed to be deployed in schools out of town and they did not want to go there, so the regional office just post them to our school. (R1/S2 Interview, 2/26/13)

In these cases, the principals noted that there was no teacher shortage so the volunteers helped relieve the teachers of their normal or typical workloads.

Finally, there were reports of overall confusion about why and how their regional requests were handled. One region's request and receipt of TAC volunteers in the first cohort (2008) was noted and validated. When asked if the region requested TAC volunteers for their region in any subsequent cohorts, the reply was, "Yes! We requested, of course!" (D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). The regional administrator continued that "unfortunately, that last group that was dispatch, we did not have access to them" (D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). A principal, who had been exposed to TAC volunteers but had not yet received a full volunteer for that school, reportedly authored and addressed a letter to the Permanent Secretary of Education, but to no avail. That regional administrator speculated, "Maybe it is how they were requested through the Embassy, that particular group" (D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). It is unclear how the placement process actually works. According to a respondent at the MOE, all schools who requested volunteers received them (MOE Interview, 11/9/12).

Orientation

Ninety percent of responding TAC volunteers reported that they began teaching between two-three days after arriving on-site and within two weeks of entering Namibia. They each pointed to a more extensive orientation within Nigeria, anywhere from one month to four years prior to deployment. The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps Directorate reports that,

Selected Volunteers are subjected to about three weeks of orientation course to prepare them for deployment abroad. The Orientation course consists of lectures and interactive sessions involving resource persons from relevant professional bodies, Ministries, specialized government agencies and non-governmental organizations, as well as foreign Missions resident in Nigeria. Ex-TAC Volunteers also serve as resource persons. (DTAC, 2004, p.20)

Findings revealed that as the number of selected volunteers increases, however, the actual orientation period and curriculum for a given volunteer reduces. The 2011 TAC Orientation Program was three weeks long, with about 1500 participants, but each individual was assigned simply one week based on their area of specialty. The primary activities were lectures led by foreign ambassadors; former TAC volunteers; Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials; professional experts in various fields; and other national, regional, and local dignitaries. As shown in Figure 7, the orientation agendas for two recent bienniums (2008, 2010) each included explicit discussions about issues and challenges associated with South-South cooperation and TAC. Very little attention was placed on specialized technical training, and topics related to specific recipient countries were kept on a broad level. At this point in the Volunteer process, orientation, that is, details on deployment are not yet available. In both orientations reviewed for this study, ambassadors or representatives from host countries, namely Sierra Leone and The Gambia, however, provided specific details on the work of TAC in their nations.

Figure 7. Recurrent Topics/Lectures from TAC Orientations (2008, 2010)**Nigeria Foreign Policy, TAC, and South-South Cooperation**

- TAC Scheme in the Actualization of South-South Cooperation
- Globalization, South-South Cooperation and Nigeria's Technical Aid Corps: Issues and Challenges
- The TAC Scheme and the Pursuit of Nigeria's Foreign Policy Objectives: Problems and Prospects

Volunteer Roles, Rights, Responsibilities, and Reception

- Volunteerism as Service to Humanity
- The Technical Aid Corps Volunteer: An "Ambassador" and Image Maker of Nigeria in the Country of Deployment
- Challenges of Adapting to a New Environment by TAC Volunteers
- Perception of the TAC Scheme by Recipient Countries
- Volunteers Relationship with the Directorate of TAC, Supervising Missions and the Recipient States
- Rights and Obligations: TAC Volunteers, Directorate of TAC and Recipient Countries.
- The Rights and Privileges of a Volunteer Under International Law
- Challenges and Legal Implications of Serving as a Volunteer

Technical Training

- The Art of Teaching in a Changing World: The New Methods

Socio-Economic Development

- The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Socio-Economic Development in Developing Countries
- Volunteers as Catalysts for Meaningful Socio-Economic Development in Recipient Countries
- Socio-Economic Impact and Challenges of TAC in the West African Sub-Region
- The Socio-Economic Development of (Kaduna State): Problems and Prospects
- Investment Opportunities and Tourism in Nigeria

Various respondents at all levels indicated that as experienced teachers, Nigeria TAC Volunteers do not need much attention and orientation. "These are professional people, so actually what they need is to just introduce them to the basics of the system, the education system, the curriculum, the teaching materials that you have..." (MOE Interview, 12/7/12). One MOE respondent also commented on the age of Nigeria's volunteers. The respondent suggested that as adults, TAC volunteers would be less interested or willing to engage in long training, "So, you have these professional people coming in for 2 years, and they will tell you, 'I have no time to learn a new language...I

came here to deliver...’ ” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12). The majority of volunteers, however, reported that additional orientation would have been helpful.

Notions of cultural familiarity were inconsistently raised in discussions about orientation for TAC volunteers within the Namibian context. One respondent suggested that orientation was not needed to integrate the volunteers into Namibia because, “Nigeria is just another African country. Our cultures are not far from each other” (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12). A TAC Volunteer reported, however,

I don’t see anything that is that common with us, because their policies are entirely different...We are all Blacks but we have our differences...I think we don’t have things in common, culturally, here. (TAC Volunteer 3D, 1/17/13)

There was consensus on having four to five days of informal orientation within Windhoek. Respondents report meeting once or twice at the Nigerian High Commissioner’s residence. They also report having a dinner and a short presentation by the Ambassador. No other formal activities were noted during the interviews. Respondents also consistently reported meeting at least one Namibia Ministry of Education official to learn about their placement during the time in Windhoek.

When asked about the orientation process for volunteers at the school-level, one principal noted that the Nigerian TAC Volunteers did not have any preliminary sensitization to the site or their role, adding, “For Nigerians, they just see us as brothers. No need to come to preview...It’s Africa! (laughs)” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13).

In cases when some form of structured orientation was mentioned, themes raised included: introduction to the school and community; sensitivity to the administrative tasks, especially maintenance of school files; and review of the relevant syllabi and schemes of work. None of the TAC volunteers interviewed, however, reported that there

was any identifiable orientation at the school-level and they all noted that within 3 days, they were assuming teaching duties. In a few schools, administrators noted that TAC volunteers were provided with a “mentor teacher” or counterpart to assist in orientation to the new school environment.

The comments of one principal rejected the notion that Nigerians even need school-level orientation. The respondent noted,

For the Nigerians...it's not a big problem. We have some kind of 'induction' for them. Just to inform them about how the school is set-up, the school policies... There is always someone with them. (The TAC volunteer) is staying with (a Namibian teacher) and they are always so close. (R2/S2 Interview, 1/29/13)

Administration files were reported by volunteers and school administrators as a particular challenge. Such files are required by the Namibia Ministry of Education.

You should have an administration file, a preparation file, and a resource file. These ones, it was difficult to tell them to keep them, because somehow they did not understand the meaning of these files. And also difficult, you know our education system require us to have a certain number of files. (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13)

A minority of school-level respondents noted that continuous orientation was provided to volunteers in two schools. “We gave them some ‘mini-workshops’ for mathematics and biology because our syllabus and theirs are completely different” (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13).

One regional official from the Namibia Ministry of Education suggested that TAC volunteers may be able to benefit from preliminary orientation to their field site, prior to final placement (DD1/RO Interview, 2/25/13). Many principals agreed, one noting, “For TAC, you can also see, the first week there are a lot of complaints...because

there was no orientation” (R4/S3 Principal Interview, 2/5/13). Another principal noted that it would be helpful,

If schools can be contacted well in-advance....If they could receive some training. They were just brought here from Nigeria to Namibia to teach. They did not understand the Namibian education system. And it took them about two or three months to settle in and start understanding. (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13)

Still another principal suggested that before TAC volunteers are placed, it may be helpful to sensitize host communities to the TAC program and to relevant aspects of Nigerian culture. The respondent noted,

Schools should also be taken through...’this is their culture, this is how they believe things should be done, and this is how you deal with them.’ Because now, you are just in a vacuum. The person is just there and you don’t know how to deal with them. You don’t know what are the right things and the boundaries as to this person. (R4/S3 Principal Interview, 2/5/13)

Interviews with TAC volunteers also suggest that additional orientation and formal reviews/visits would be welcomed and may further enhance the experience.

Finally, TAC officials were noted to request more Namibian involvement in orientation (MFA/TAC Interview, 10/12/12; MOE Interview, 11/9/12). The data show that current participation is limited to sharing logistics about assignments/placements with volunteers.

Indigenization

Interviews with regional officials, school administrators, and individual volunteers provided insight on program monitoring and support activities and processes, including how teaching volunteers are incorporated in their host school community. Findings revealed a mixture of experiences, with some finding that TAC volunteers were

well-integrated into the school community and others finding that TAC volunteers had trouble adjusting.

Volunteer Assignments

There was inconsistency in the findings of teaching roles of current and past TAC volunteers within the sampled regions and schools. According to the national Ministry of Education,

TAC is mostly involved in the actual teaching. They are involved, also, in some cases, help our teachers, in terms of skill-transfer, sometimes they may have sessions with the teachers, particularly, in subjects like physical science and mathematics. (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

Some schools and regions, nonetheless, sought and received TAC Volunteers who would serve in the same capacity as their local full-time teachers while other host schools and regions sought TAC Volunteers who serve as mentor or part-time teachers, assuming a lighter teaching load.

Respondents varied on whether they wanted TAC volunteers to be full-time teachers or not. One principal defines a full-time teacher as having “to teach 90% of your time here at the school” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 11/22/12). Another principal adds that for full teachers, “the prescribed number of periods is 40” (R3/S3 Principal Interview, 1/17/13).

In two regions, the administrators expected TAC volunteers to be full-time teachers. Some principals in these regions reported satisfaction with the placements, in that regard. One principal noted,

I’ve never seen a volunteer so hard at work, so cooperative, so committed, positive. At times, he stay back at schools to help with students and sometimes he works even on the weekends, to help with revision. (R4/S1 Principal Interview, 2/5/13)

Another principal shared that the TAC volunteers temporarily filled a void in their full-time staffing structure adding, “They mainly teach these subjects where our teachers are scared – mathematics, science...where teachers were not able” (R1/S1 Principal Interview, 2/26/13).

Some respondents reported, however, that they expected full-time teaching volunteers, yet received TAC volunteers who did not willingly or consistently assume the role. In these cases, the respondents expressed frustration.

One regional-level respondent shared,

I remember there were reports of specifically Nigerian volunteer teachers who felt like they were not here to teach but they were supposed to be kind of, just mentor teachers. That was one concern that came up strongly. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

School and regional administrators also communicated that some volunteers were not feeling as though they were full teachers at all and were also not subject to the supervision or oversight of the principal. According to one regional administrator,

There were also reports from some principals about the Nigerian volunteers. Apparently, maybe again, it goes back to the fact that they perceived or expected their role to be different from that of a full-time class teacher. So some of them would come to work any time and if the principal asks, “Why do you come late?” they would say, “You are not supposed to ask me that kind of question.” Something like that. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

In one school, the principal noted that a full-time teacher was needed and the region provided the school with a TAC volunteer. According to the principal, the assigned volunteer, however, expressed discomfort in teaching one or the other subject because it was not the volunteer’s area of specialty in Nigeria. In this case, the principal reportedly assigned the volunteer a lighter load in another subject, and eventually pressured the region to transfer the volunteer to another school. This was rare.

Administrators within the other three regions reported that the initial expectation was that the TAC Volunteer would *not* be a full-time teacher. A principal within one of those regions noted that a goal of the volunteer is to have,

... someone to supplement the teachers...if you have an extra teacher in that subject, then the load on that teacher is less because instead of allocating 40 periods to the teacher, you can now allocate 30 periods to the teacher. (R3/S3 Principal Interview, 1/17/13)

Still, the majority of the principals in those regions ended up utilizing the volunteer in a full-time teaching role.

In the three regions where there was not an expectation of a full-time teaching role for TAC volunteers, the majority of administrators and principals noted that the volunteers nonetheless welcomed their role and they lauded the TAC volunteers for taking on the responsibility. According to one regional administrator, “I think in some schools, I think these people took over as if they are subject teachers or whatever (laughs)” (DD/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). Another principal reported that a TAC volunteer in his school taught, “Grades 11. He also assisted with the grades 10 and then grade 9. So, he is fully-loaded. He has the same work load as all the teachers at the school” (R2/S1 Principal Interview, 11/22/12).

Another principal in region 2 reported,

I think this is, I can’t say if it is a special or awkward situation, but the volunteer had to take on the role as a full-time teacher as well because of the shortage of a teacher that resigned when he arrived at the school, so he is doing actually “full-time” teaching at the school! And what I must compliment is that about this volunteer is that, no negativity towards it, very positive person, wants to assist wherever he can and he is just doing his job. And he wants to make sure our learners are being are getting that support, especially as this is a very crucial subject for us, where we do not have a lot of “qualified” teachers in this area. But I must say that he is more than willing to assist wherever he can. (R2/S1 Principal Interview, 11/22/12)

One principal in Region 2 would rather not have TAC volunteers as full-time teachers at his school. The respondent stated, “I believe that with the volunteers you have, they need to assist. They volunteer their services, and they need to help wherever they can, not just with the specific grade, but throughout” (R2/S1 Principal Interview, 11/22/12). The principal added that if vacant teaching posts were filled by local Namibians next year, that he would re-direct the volunteer from full-time teaching to other specialized tasks.

In Region 1, an administrator shared that some TAC volunteers within the past 5 years were full teachers and also met the expectation of working as mentors to their teachers. According to the respondent, “With this group, there were actually not just classroom teachers, but more like master teachers if I could call that...like playing a supportive role to the Namibian teachers” (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13). The respondent continued,

We expected them to play the role of a mentor, and this is what they did, most of them, if not all of them. If I can give an example of a physical science, I know two of them...Like in one school, this guy acted like he was the Head of Department or the subject head. So, he brought all the teachers in physical science together, he guided them, he mentored them. At the end of the day, we could see there was a difference in the way the subject was being taught in the school as compared to early before that guy to that school. So, he did not just teach his own class, but he had to also assist the other teacher with things like methodology, content, and so on, as far as the subject is concerned. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

Findings revealed a few issues associated with the curriculum. The biggest issue had to do with the physical science curriculum, while smaller issues were raised related to using practicals and lesson plans.

In almost all schools, TAC volunteers and school administrators reported challenges with parts of the physical science curriculum in Namibia. According to the

majority of the volunteers, physical science as a subject does not exist within the Nigerian secondary school curriculum. According to respondents, in Nigeria, physics and chemistry are two full independent subjects, while Namibia groups the two subjects together to create a course called Physical Science. In most instances, the reported concern was that the TAC volunteers needed to scale back their instruction in both subjects in order to keep in line with the Namibian curriculum. One volunteer shared, “I am not being challenged the way I thought...I thought I would be challenged by having students ask questions that I could not answer, but that did not happen” (TAC Volunteer 3D Interview, 1/17/13). The volunteer continued,

I discovered that what they are supposed to cover is not that much, compared to what we cover in Nigeria. Standard of education in this country is still very low, in that the scheme of work is not very wide. It is very compressed. In Nigeria, at the senior secondary level, we don’t talk about Physical Science...These things are separated. Physical Science is the combination of Physics and Chemistry, but here they are merged together. (TAC Volunteer 3D Interview, 1/17/13)

Only one volunteer reported no problem with the physical science curriculum. That volunteer had teaching experience in a private and international school back in Nigeria.

Two principals (in region 1 and region 3) shared that they had to instruct the TAC volunteer to scale back the content of their physical science courses.

With the content, they had content, even though sometimes they would go beyond our syllabus. If you go in the class, visit them, you can really feel that today, he was giving “tough stuff” to the learners. (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13)

One principal was concerned that the TAC volunteer was not conducting practicals, noting, “In biology, learners did very little practicals” (R1/S2 Principal’s

Interview, 2/26/13). Still, a TAC volunteer in another region was concerned that the school did not do enough to encourage or promote practicals, complaining that

There is a need for students to be engaged...Everything I do is just theory, no practical. Theory without practical is lame, but practical without theory is blind...The problem is that the people don't look beyond the wall. (TAC Volunteer Interview, R3/S4, 1/17/13)

A few principals noted challenges in how TAC volunteers used the curriculum for lesson planning. One school administrator noted,

There were some minor problems, like assessment and interpretation of the syllabus, but we cleared them out...They would say that in their country, they did not have to prepare lesson plans, we just take your syllabus and you go and teach. (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13)

In three of the five regions targeted in this study, respondents shared that local stakeholders expected the TAC volunteer to do more than just teach. In two of these regions, it appeared to cause frustration on the part of the TAC volunteers and was also translated into reported disappointment on the part of school administrators.

A regional director noted TAC volunteer resistance to co-curricular and extra-curricular activities, suggesting, "I think they felt, as volunteer teachers, they just want to come and teach and they should not be part of any other afternoon or extramural activities" (D5/S1 Interview, 1/28/13). Resistance was also noted by a few principals in region 1. According to one principal, "We used the volunteers wherever we needed them... choir...sport...wherever.... Sometimes, the Nigerians tried to resist...they had a lot of demands" (R1/S1 Principal Interview, 2/26/13). Another principal expressed that unmet expectations may be attributed to lack of clarity on the program goals, stating

maybe their terms of reference was not known to the school...We didn't actually know where is their limit. Sometimes, you would tell them, "This is what the school is going to do." They would tell you, "No, we didn't come to do that."

Now you came here to do what? “No, I came here to teach.” (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13)

In three regions, administrators expressed appreciation for the co-curricular and additional instructional work performed by the TAC volunteers. In schools within these regions, however, the TAC volunteers reportedly did assume additional tasks. The most commonly reported co-curricular tasks initiated or embraced by serving TAC volunteers were related to Christian bible study, computer literacy support, and sport.

Missionary work or religious-centered leadership by TAC volunteers as commonly mentioned. “I can remember (the TAC Volunteer) used to have a ‘scripture union’ club. (The TAC Volunteer) used to have a bible study group” (R5/S1 Principal Interview, 1/28/13). Another school administrator noted that the TAC volunteer worked with students related to religious outreach and was “very active in our church” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13). A volunteer in another region actually started a church which he led with a small Christian congregation for his two years of service.

A regional director claimed that a volunteer in the region actively assisted the school community with information and communication technology (ICT), noting “I am talking as if he just inspired teachers and learners (laughs) but I think he inspired me too” (DD/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). A principal also shared that one TAC volunteer with which he worked,

He is assisting all the time, teachers who are struggling with computers or so and trying to share his knowledge with the colleagues. And what he also came up with...this is now with regard to the attainment of the Vision 2030 and the

government's NDP² program... And what he came up with is to get assistance from a donor organization to provide the school with computers, premium laptop computers, and to ask for assistance in that regard, to make it easier for all the learners to have access to this technology or to ICT equipment. (R2/S1 Principal Interview, 11/22/12)

While one school noted a problem with teachers' requirements to supervise athletics, TAC volunteers were noted to have supported soccer in a few schools. One principal noted that transportation prohibited TAC volunteers from participating in activities beyond "athletics" (R1/S2 Principal Interview 2/26/13).

Additional activities mentioned by school and regional administrators, and by TAC volunteers include: fundraising, teaching support to other schools, and the design and implementation of an independent evaluation/assessment of school performance in mathematics. In two of the 14 observed schools, TAC volunteers were reportedly "shared" with other neighboring schools, as time and willingness permitted. These activities were noted to take place in the afternoons and on the weekends. One principal who was the official supervisor of the TAC volunteer commented,

we do allow him also to give assistance to other schools in this area, in xxx town, where they do need assistance. In the afternoons, if he has time to do so, we will allow him to aid other learners in other schools, even go to other schools to assist colleagues there... Because if we can share our resources, that's nice. (R2/S1 Principal Interview, 11/22/12)

² NDP4: Namibia's National Development Plan - 4

Monitoring

The research probed to understand what type of monitoring of volunteers took place, how often, and through which entities. Findings revealed that the majority of the monitoring of TAC volunteers came from the host communities within Namibia.

While TAC officials in Windhoek and Abuja shared that periodic visits are made to volunteer sites throughout any given year, a majority of the other respondents at all levels reported that Nigeria Technical Aid Corps teaching volunteers are left to integrate and coordinate on their own for the duration of their two years in Namibia. Monitoring activities or goals are not listed within any official TAC documents gathered during this study.

One TAC official in Windhoek shared that the TAC Directorate in Abuja may send up-to three officers to visit schools, yet not on any specific schedule (MFA/TAC interview, 10/12/12). According to interviews with TAC officials in Abuja, the officers conduct visits to observe living conditions and hear from volunteers, as well as distribute monthly stipends. One TAC official reported that visits by selected representatives of the Nigeria High Commission of Windhoek may occur monthly and during these visits, TAC officials may speak to principals about the volunteers. A Namibia MOE official reported that a representative of the Nigeria High Commission traveled to a few sites in response to complaints about housing (MOE Interview, 12/7/12).

None of the school administrators interviewed, however, remember receiving any visits from TAC officials or officers of the Nigerian High Commission of Windhoek. “With the Nigerians, they don’t come because these guys just believe these persons are okay... They just help” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13). Only one TAC volunteer

reported that the sites had been visited by any TAC officials from Windhoek or Abuja. They all reported monthly visits by embassy officials to distribute/collect their living allowance; however, the visits to disburse money, they reported, were not necessarily to the site, but to a nearby or central location that TAC volunteers needed to reach.

In general, according to officials at the Nigeria High Commission, secondary school administrators, and teaching volunteers, the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps provides monitoring or intervention only when there are stated problems. One former TAC administrator noted,

Sometime, then we have conflict between the teachers, the volunteer teachers and the principals and the teachers. We normally go to the school, Listen to both sides and try to make suggestion, like mediation (laughs). We are like mediators. (laughs). (MFA/TAC Interview, 10/12/12)

The Namibia Ministry of Education noted a recent request from the Nigeria High Commission to receive a report on the performance of TAC volunteers in the secondary schools (MOE Interview, 11/9/12). This request has not yet been fulfilled.

According to the DD1/RO respondent, the regional education office regularly monitors all of its teachers, including foreign volunteers. A regional director shared that the circuit inspectors are, "...the immediate custodians of schools. In the first place, they are the ones who are always in the schools. If there are problems with the volunteers, inspectors would pick those before us even" (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13). Most regions reported that teams of education officers, inspectors, and advisory teachers regularly visit schools to check on the progress of teachers and advise them (D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). These visits reportedly include all teachers, not just local teachers. During these visits and through reports by school-level administrators, the activities of volunteers are observed and noted. A principal reported,

We do the same evaluation for this volunteer as we do with our teachers. We have to do class visits, and we have to give feedback on the class visits, and we have to see that he conforms to our curriculum, the prescribed aims and objectives, and that if he can manage that, and if he can also manage to maintain that good relationship, discipline, and so with our learners. So we do the same as we monitor our staff members at our school, we do the same with him. (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 11/22/12)

The HOD of one school would look through the learners' workbooks on classes led by TAC Volunteers to check on what the students were learning (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/25/13).

When discussing adjustment to the Namibian school and education system, the concept of corporal punishment was raised in interviews with principals and in interviews with volunteers. A principal reported that "Corporal punishment is not allowed which causes problems in how TAC volunteers manage their classes" (R4/S3 Principal Interview, 2/5/13). One TAC volunteer noted,

the classroom management is found to be better in Nigeria than in Namibia because Namibian children are given too much freedom than the Nigerian children and maybe their mode of discipline differs also because you can find in Nigerian children, the children when they go to the class, they know they have come to the class to learn, so you will find them very attentive, unlike here, you have to be shouting at them, at least to maintain order to give quiet, to do this and that. So, of course there are wide differences between Namibian children and Nigerian children in terms of classroom management. (TAC Volunteer 3D Interview)

Absenteeism of TAC volunteers was reported as a challenge in a few schools. A principal shared in Region 1 shared, "And sometimes, especially the Nigerians, they will even travel without you knowing. Sometimes, you will just miss the person" (R1/S1 Principal Interview, 2/26/13). A national Ministry of Education official also commented on the problem, noting,

They just sometimes, but I think it's just in one or two cases, where the volunteer kinda didn't come back from the weekend. And sometimes, they even go home. There is one who just went home, without following proper procedures. (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

Support

Findings reveal that Nigeria TAC Volunteers are supported by both the Nigerian government and the Namibian government. Most of the deployed TAC Volunteers who were interviewed had, on-hand, a contract which includes a full copy of the TAC Namibia Country Agreement. The Country Agreement “guides the obligations and responsibilities of both Nigeria and the recipient states. The operation of the Scheme in the recipient country is defined by this agreement” (Daura, 2010b). This document was a talking point for at least four of the interviewed volunteers as they sought to get the host-country support outlined in the agreement, mainly in regards to housing and medical insurance. In each group of TAC volunteers, an individual is designated by the TAC official to serve as a liaison and manage any necessary communication between volunteers and the office.

According to the TAC Namibia Country Agreement, the Nigerian government provides living stipends, both on-shore and off-shore, along with transportation to and from Namibia. As the host country, Namibia is responsible for providing housing, medical insurance, and transportation within country as necessary. Findings revealed consistent confusion in the interpretation and administration of such support, specifically from the host-country side. The primary issues related to housing and transportation.

Housing guidelines are brief in all communications acquired in regards to TAC. The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps Country Agreement for Namibia notes that,

Namibia shall provide reasonably furnished and free accommodation, including the payment of utility bills (water, electricity, and gas) for each volunteer during the two(2) years service period. (TAC Namibia Country Agreement, 2007, Part C.i.)

The Namibian government also provides brief housing guidance to regions in advertising the availability of volunteers, referring them to the Country Agreement which as mentioned above, is equally scant in detail.

It is to be stressed that the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria will provide a living allowance to the volunteers, whereas your region/institution/office has to provide suitable accommodation (bed, stove, refrigeration, study table)...You are urged to further consult the agreement that was forwarded to you in November 2007. (NMOE, 2008a)

Most respondents reported that problems with the TAC program have typically been in light of unfavorable accommodations. According to a Namibia Ministry of Education official,

The nature of the problem is, for example, mostly a complaint from the TAC volunteer, either complaining, not satisfied with the situation of accommodation, sometimes asking for transfer, want to be transfer from a particular duty station or school. (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

Another national official noted that,

...the village schools' responsibility was to provide accommodation...and in some instances, the accommodation was not up-to-standard. You know, and the Nigeria High Commissioner to Namibia...went to the regions because...the teachers were complaining about the kind of accommodation they were given...but that is the challenge, even to the Namibian teachers. They don't have good accommodation. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

Lack of communication or confusion in communication was the most frequently stated reason for problems in accommodation (DD/R1 Interview 2/25/13).

In at least two of the five regions, problems with accommodation reportedly led to issues with transportation and/or increased associated costs for hosting TAC volunteers.

In one region, it was noted that the costs were borne by the regional officer coffers, but the time allowed a connection between the regional office and the volunteers (D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). Another region reported frustration with the unexpected burdens, indicating that hosting TAC volunteers also included the provision of meals, noting,

Shooh! That program, I think, was costly to a regional office like this one. We had to keep these people in some of the guest houses. We also had, some of them, said they are not, they could not cook in the places where they are staying, so we had to buy them food at restaurants, pay for their food, have their breakfast, lunch, and dinner every day. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

In most cases in the visited schools, Nigerians were housed with Namibian teachers. One principal, however, said that the school did not “mix” the volunteers from different country programs claiming, “The Nigerians prefer to be with the Nigerians” (R1/S1 Principal Interview, 2/26/13).

It was reported that under the terms of the 2007 agreement, TAC teaching volunteers coming to Namibia, “will also be signing in Nigeria that they are going to villages; they are not going to stay in cities...” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12). The priority to place volunteers in rural areas came up in regional interviews as well (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13; DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13). In practice, however, respondents noted challenges and factors that affected rural placements.

One regional director reported that the volunteers were adamant about not going to rural areas and commented,

Initially, we had asked that one of them goes to x school, y school, z school, all the secondary schools, but when they came, there were problems, and eventually, they did not want to go to some of those outlying schools, so we had to relocate them to schools within town... It doesn't help to send people to a country, when they come they say, “We are not prepared to go to remote schools.” I think from the onset, people should be told the kind of localities where they can expect to be deployed so that they can make their choice before they embark on this project. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

In one region, there was a full shift of volunteers from the original targets for placement, which was attributed to reported comfort and expectations of volunteers.

The problems had to do with housing, accommodation in those areas where they were posted. But, also I think there was a misunderstanding, a huge misunderstanding between this office and probably themselves. Because for them, they were meant to understand, I don't know from where, they were going to work only in town schools, but in our situation we needed them the most in schools that are in the remote areas. So, some of them went there and said, "no, no, no, no, no. I will not stay in a place like this," and they had to come back. Others cited things like, "It's too bushy here. Maybe there are elephants" and so on. That kind of thing. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

Two regional directors, however, reported that Volunteers did well and were doing well in the remote areas in which they were placed. Still in another region, a volunteer placed in one of the most rural areas was visited and reported that he was fine. According to the regional director, "I was worried about the one more than 600km away" (from the main town). "I find him very happy...He said he was enjoying his teaching and that is why he came." (D/R5 Interview, 2/9/13).

In two regions (region 1, 4), transportation allowances were reportedly provided to TAC volunteers. According to one regional Deputy Director, "I remember they demanded that we give them taxi fares, so at some point in time, we had to also make sure that we give them that allowance" (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13), adding,

Um, also in terms of transportation, there was a condition that we need to provide a vehicle to pick them from where they are staying, take them to the place where they are going to have their breakfast, take them to the school, pick them from the school at lunch, take them to this place where they are going to have their lunch, take them to where they stay, and so on, until they go to bed. So, really, uh-uh, for that one, it was kind of an expensive venture for us. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

Another principal shared that TAC volunteers were given a transport allowance based on how often they've been at work (R4/S3 Principal Interview, 2/5/13). Another principal who hosted numerous TAC volunteers over the past five years reported that some TAC volunteers would “ask for transport to bring them to work everyday, even though they are in reachable places to the school” (R1/S1 Principal Interview, 2/26/13).

One school utilized private vehicles to transport volunteers from their home to the school (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13). Another school principal labeled TAC volunteers as “demanding,” especially in regards to transport claiming,

As a school, we do not have a school car. If they walk, they will arrive any time they feel like arriving. I think that on that one, they must be told as a volunteer, you must be prepared to “suffer” with those people. (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/26/13)

In regards to medical benefits, the Country Agreement states, “Namibia shall provide free medical care to each Volunteer through the Public Service Medical Aid Scheme (PSEMAS)” (Government of the Republic of Namibia (GRN) & Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2007, Part C.iii.). A national official clarified that

we have a concession that says for them because they are coming in as volunteers we provide them with letters that allow them to approach any medical facility and get treatment from such facilities on the same condition as the Namibians. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

All but one volunteer, however, expressed problems with medical benefits and needed to use his own contract to facilitate discussion about it with his Namibian school-based supervisor. The volunteer shared, “As I am talking to you, I am still working on it, trying to get my medical aid form. My colleagues in other regions have already started enjoying it” (TAC Volunteer Interview, 1/17/13).

There were no reported special meetings, trainings, or group activities solely for the Nigerian volunteer after deployment to schools, aside from monthly distribution of living stipends. One TAC volunteer, however, expressed enthusiasm for the in-service training offered through the national and regional Namibia Ministry of Education.

Some school administrators were somewhat confused about how Nigerian TAC volunteers were compensated.

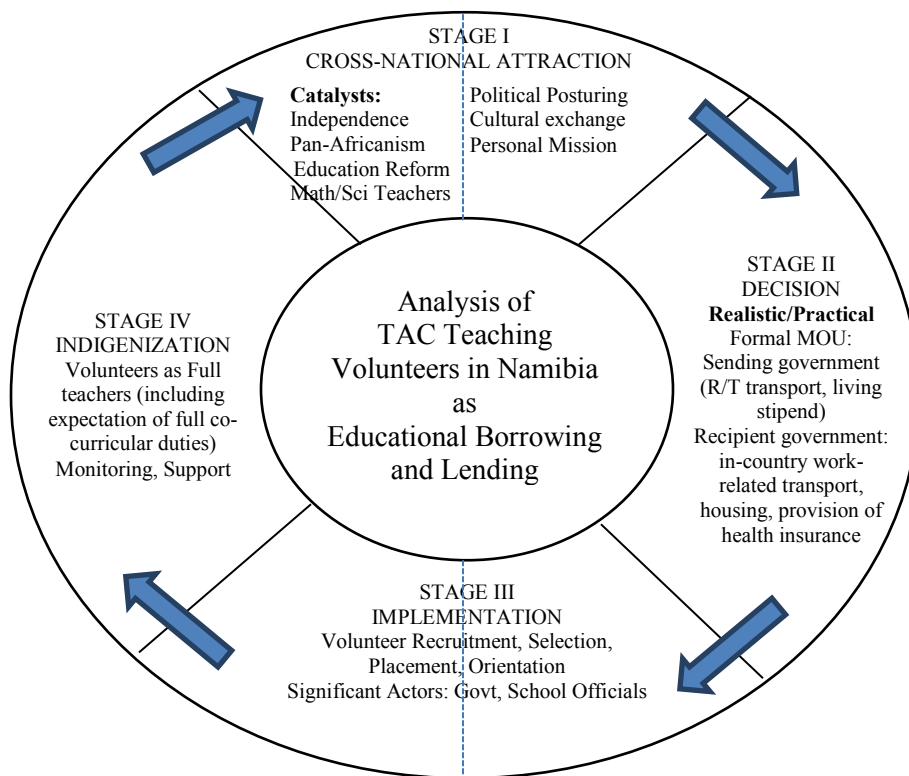
They got the salary or some kind of payment from the government of Namibia. I was not sure because what I... It seems like from the conversations I picked up, It seems like our government paid and the Nigerian government also paid so I was not sure whether the Namibian government paid half and the Nigerian government also paid half. And whatever the Nigerian government paid, stayed in their country, stayed in their bank accounts. And whatever the Namibian government paid was just to support them financially here, for the needy stuff, their needs and wants here. It seems like, or that is the impression I got, that there was funds that they got and funds is not open here in Namibia, that it stays in that Nigerian bank account of theirs. (R5/S1 Principal Interview, 1/28/13)

As mentioned earlier, a few principals report providing TAC volunteers with a transportation allowance because their accommodations were not close to the host school. This allowance did not appear to be a standard element. According to TAC documents and interviews, there is a one-time on-shore (Nigeria) allowance and a monthly off-shore allowance for all volunteers.

Figure 8 summarizes the findings outlined in the chapter. As shown below, seven key catalysts informed the attraction of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps into Namibia's education sector. The decision to bring the volunteer program into the country was practical, informed by a formal memorandum of understanding between respective divisions of the Nigerian and Namibian governments. In stage three, government and school officials recruited, selected, placed, and oriented teaching volunteers for service. In the fourth borrowing stage, or indigenization, TAC teaching volunteers were serving

as full teachers and the majority of monitoring and support activities were managed and directed by the local host community.

Figure 8. TAC/Namibia Within Education Borrowing Framework



Chapter V

THE UNITED STATES PEACE CORPS IN NAMIBIA (2008-2012)

In this chapter, I will provide an historical account of the U.S. Peace Corps in Namibia's education sector within the most recent five years, similar to the account provided of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps. The subsequent chapter (chapter VI) will then compare the findings on the two programs. A discussion of the results along with implications for further research will complete this dissertation, in chapter VII.

Overview

Findings reveal that there have been one-thousand two-hundred and eighty-six (1,286) U.S. Peace Corps teaching volunteers in Namibia since Independence. In the initial years of the Peace Corps teaching volunteer program in Namibia, the number of volunteers were reportedly few and represented experienced teaching volunteers extending their service from other countries(PC/N Interview, 11/16/12). Further, they were all apparently placed in a single geographic area within the country. Over time, however, records reveal that the number of Peace Corps Volunteers dramatically increased, the experience levels of volunteers became more varied, and the placements spread across the country. This study specifically examined what is currently known in Peace Corps/Namibia as the Peace Corps Secondary and Upper Primary Education Project (SUPEP).

Attraction

In order to address the question of how the Namibian government became aware and interested in the U.S. Peace Corps, I conducted interviews with program officials and with key government officials who were involved in the development of the country agreement. I also collected and reviewed the partnership agreements governing each program, as well as historical documents (e.g. the Peace Corps Handbook for Namibia, original letters of invitation, newspaper clippings). The primary actors in identifying and managing attraction were senior government and program officials from the U.S. and Namibia.

Key officials were direct and clear about when, how, and why the United States Peace Corps entered the country near Namibia's independence. Still, it took a while to track down the actual Peace Corps bilateral agreement currently governing teaching volunteers in Namibia. Eventually it was confirmed that on March 28, 1990, just one week after Namibia's Independence Day, a formal letter seeking to enter negotiations for the U.S. Peace Corps to send teaching volunteers, was sent to Peace Corps Director Paul D. Coverdell in Washington, DC. The letter, written before the Namibian Ministry of Education, Sport, and Culture reportedly even had official letterhead, was authored by Nahas Angula, then Minister of Education, Culture, and Sport (Appendix D). The missive was short and simple and followed a series of meetings, begun even before Independence, mainly with who would become the first Peace Corps Country Director in Namibia (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12).

Based on records and interviews with key personnel, central catalysts of attraction for the Peace Corps teaching volunteer program in Namibia were: political changes,

shifts in national language policies, and radical education reform. Specifically, findings reveal that the Namibian government responded favorably to the offer of Peace Corps assistance for four primary reasons: 1) to receive needed assistance in the transition to English as the official language; 2) to offer math and science instructional assistance; 3) to mend relationships with the U.S. government and 4) to help posture the U.S. as the first development assistance group in independent Namibia.

The primary focus, according to multiple respondents and sources, was to help Namibia transition to English as a medium of instruction in schools (MOE Interview, 11/9/12; Peace Corps, 2008). Prior to Independence, English was not widely spoken and the U.S. Peace Corps was seen as a resource to Namibia in provision of proficient and native English speakers.

We wanted to concentrate mainly in the language area because we were an Afrikaans-speaking country for over a 100 or so year. So, changing from 1990, our teachers were desperate... When you speak English, they are just looking at you because they don't understand what you are saying... So, what we were saying is that for Peace Corps, we wanted to focus on bombarding the different environments we have with this language that we have adopted as the official language of communication, in order to make sure that our people are listening and hearing this language every day and that might assist in having them aligning themselves, making friends, and seeing how fast they could learn and acquire this language and so. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

The primary focus appears to have been maintained and is evident in findings over the past five years. Another MOE respondent stated that when the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps was revived in 2008, there was a shortage of science volunteers because existing volunteer programs, such as Peace Corps, "...were based around the language policy... volunteers from the U.S. and the U.K. went into the schools to beef up English" (MOE Interview, 12/7/12b).

Although English language instruction was the primary reported attraction for Peace Corps teaching volunteers in Namibia, additional subjects were mentioned by interview respondents and in gathered archival materials. According to one respondent from Peace Corps/Namibia, math and science was also a focus of the teaching volunteer program. The respondent shared that in 1991, the first group of fifteen volunteers underwent technical training led by Columbia University's Dr. Bruce Vogeli (Teachers College Mathematics Program Chairperson). Another respondent who formerly worked for Peace Corps/Namibia also shared that the primary focus included three areas: English, mathematics, and science (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12). As mentioned in the sub-section above, however, the predominant number of volunteers appeared to be supporting English language development.

In addition, according to a respondent in the Namibia Ministry of Education, the relationship between the U.S. and Namibia at the time of independence needed mending (MOE interview, 11/9/12). The respondent added that the ruling party, SWAPO, was not pleased with the negotiations for independence facilitated in part by the United States. There were reportedly conditions and concessions that many of Namibia's leadership reportedly did not desire or find favorable. Nonetheless, one respondent considered bringing the U.S. Peace Corps into the education sector a necessary "risk" that may help mend relationships for the future (MOE Interview, 11/9/12).

A respondent from Peace Corps/Namibia also suggested that a goal of Peace Corps in Namibia was to help mend the U.S. image in the region. When asked how the partnership began, the respondent shared,

...it became clear that Namibia was going to be headed toward Independence. And I felt it really important, not only that Peace Corps be there to show the

United States interest in Namibia, but...to show, you know, what we all consider, the “better sides” of the United States. (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12)

From U.S. respondents and materials, the politics of aggressively being first to send support to independent Namibia was noted.

...me and the, SWAPO, we had started some discussions prior to Independence, because we wanted Peace Corps to be the first in. We knew there would be a lot of assistance, but part of the value was the United States very quickly showing the value of Peace Corps, and the value of volunteerism, and assisting in Namibia. (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12)

The U.S. Peace Corps currently remains the largest overseas volunteer program in Namibia, particularly within the education sector.

Decision

Details of the decision to utilize the United States Peace Corps are currently rooted in formal memorandums of understanding(MOUs) between the governments. The main country agreement is a contract between the Namibia Planning Commission and the U.S. Peace Corps. It does not go into detail about the specific activities or areas of specialization of the volunteer. According to Article 1 of the Implementing Technical Cooperation Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Namibia and Peace Corps for the Dispatch of Volunteers to Namibia, hereafter referred to as Peace Corps Namibia Implementing Agreement (Peace Corps/Namibia and Namibia National Planning Commission Secretariat, 2006)

is to provide a framework for continuing, expanded, and future collaboration and enhancement of services delivery through the provision and dispatching of Peace Corps Volunteers to the Republic of Namibia in accordance with the Country Agreement, the laws and regulations of the United States of America, and the priorities determined by the Ministries, for the purpose of contributing to the social, economic, and human resource development of the GRN. (p.2)

The memorandum of understanding states that skilled individuals will be sent from the U.S. to provide needed services to Namibia for a period of two years. The agreement requests Namibia, as the host country, to provide housing, local transportation, and cost-free work visas for volunteers, while the U.S. will provide transportation to and from the country of service and a living stipend for volunteers during their service in Namibia. The agreement stipulates that the Namibian government will screen recommended volunteers for adequacy, prior to their receipt in-country; however, evidence about the practice is mixed.

Implementation

Implementation of the Peace Corps was reviewed with respect to volunteer recruitment, selection, orientation, and placement. There were a variety and multitude of actors identified as involved in the Peace Corps Namibia implementation process. These individuals included recruitment and placement officers around the U.S.; additional PC Headquarters staff in Washington, DC; administrators, health, safety, language, and technical staff at Peace Corps post; along with various Namibian officials and educators, and community members surrounding host sites/schools.

Findings revealed that, in general, the U.S. Peace Corps took primary responsibility for most elements of implementing the secondary education teaching volunteer program. Respondents at the Ministry of Education attribute some of this to the visibility and size of the Peace Corps operation in-country. One GRN/MOE official notes,

... we have a Peace Corps office, so much of the coordination activities of supporting the field, their health, whatever their conditions, are not sitting with us. They are sitting with the Peace Corps Office, because this is an organization that

has been in existence for God knows how long. So, you have your own sets of norms, values, guidelines, and so on that are guiding the organization. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

Another MOE respondent noted, “With Peace Corps, they normally require from [the Ministry of Education] is just a letter of recommendation, particularly when they apply for work visa, but they are doing everything on their own” (MOE Interview, 12/9/12).

The Peace Corps/Namibia staff composition, outside of the Director and Administrative Officer positions, consists largely of Namibians.

Recruitment

Details about the recruitment systems of the Peace Corps Namibia program came primarily through reviews of recruitment materials, program advertisements, interviews with former Peace Corps Namibia program management and volunteers, and information on the World Wide Web. Additional information was gleaned through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. Findings reveal that the Peace Corps primarily recruits generalists rather than specialists for volunteer posts, and that the domestic recruitment activities and locations are wide-spread.

There was widespread awareness and consensus that technical expertise is not the driving factor for Peace Corps volunteer recruitment. According to marketing materials on Peace Corps/Namibia that was provided to target schools and regions,

A Peace Corps Volunteer is not a highly paid specialist. A Volunteer has a good background in the subject and has skills that are needed by the host organization. The Volunteer does not bring all the skills and knowledge needed by the organization. Instead, the Volunteer’s skills and abilities supplement those of the host organization staff, and together they work to find solutions to the problems facing the host organization. (n.d. “What is Peace Corps?” Received from Namibia MOE Regional Office 11/21/12)

Senior officials at the Namibia Ministry of Education also noted that,

most of Peace Corps volunteers are not, you know, qualified teachers, per se. They are...college students, with you know, their degrees but they are not specifically trained and certified within the teaching profession (MOE Interview, 11/9/12).

An overview of the Peace Corps Secondary Education Math and Science Teaching

Volunteer position is included in Figure 9 below, taken from the Peace Corps catalogue.

Figure 9. Peace Corps Secondary Math and Science Teaching Overview

Secondary Education Math and Science Teaching	
Overview	
Volunteers in math teach basic concepts, including remedial math, geometry, algebra, statistics, probability, and calculus.	
Volunteers in science teach general science, biology, chemistry, and physics. Volunteers:	
• Collaborate with local teachers to develop teaching materials and improve teaching techniques • Integrate health and environmental education into the curriculum and support other school and community activities, such as HIV/AIDS prevention and education	
Education	Experience
Math: Applicants can qualify with a bachelor's degree in math, computer science, or engineering; OR a degree in any discipline with a minor in math (15 semester or 22 quarter hours); OR a degree in secondary education with a concentration in math; OR a degree in any discipline with certification in secondary math.	Applicants typically have at least three months of experience in tutoring or informal teaching with small groups. Classroom teaching experience is preferred. Other relevant experience includes community service, especially with youth; youth development work; camp counseling; health and HIV/AIDS; environmental education; and computer literacy
Science: Applicants can qualify with a bachelor's degree in general science, biology, chemistry, engineering physics, or any physical or biological science; OR a degree in any discipline with certification in secondary science; OR a degree in any discipline with a minor (15 semester or 22 quarter hours) in biology, chemistry, or physics.	
Source: Peace Corps (2012a, p.25)	

A current high-ranking Education Ministry official shared similarly,

We understood from a while ago that Peace Corps brings in young people to gain experience, so we were not looking at “qualified” teachers to come through Peace Corps. That was not the intention, but what we wanted was, were young people that are flexible, very interested in gaining experience, interested in exploring the different environments and what-have-you. They are flexible in the sense that they could be posted *anywhere* around the country but the focus being

that we are happy to have you there because at least in that local environment, anyone who wants to say anything to you, they will have to try it in English. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

The U.S. Peace Corps maintains a comprehensive website and diverse, direct strategies for increasing awareness of the program. U.S. Peace Corps recruitment materials and advertisements are very visible in the home country, with billboards around the country, recruitment videos, regional recruitment offices, and recruitment offices on many college/university campuses. Interested volunteers may apply at any time throughout the year to join the U.S. Peace Corps. The majority of interviewed RPCVs reported that they learned about the Peace Corps through former teachers, families, and friends who served in the Peace Corps. One returned Volunteer shared that she learned of the opportunity to join Peace Corps through a recruiter on her college campus. Still others were unable to pinpoint exactly how or when they first learned of the Peace Corps.

Selection

Findings reveal that the U.S. Peace Corps has selection processes on two levels, one in the sending country headquarters, and one at the country-level. According to various sources, U.S. Peace Corps volunteers are interviewed, nominated and selected by U.S.-based recruitment and selection officers, who are primarily generalists for the purposes of the job. The process is managed by the Peace Corps Office of Volunteer Recruitment and Selection in Washington, DC. RPCVs reported that the main interview typically lasted for 60 minutes and was one-on-one with a recruiter. Some respondents interviewed in-person while others shared that their interview was conducted via phone, typically because there was no on-campus recruiter or nearby regional recruitment office.

RPCVs reported that the interview questions generally probed their academic qualifications, related paid and unpaid work experience, and preferences for placement. There was consensus, however, that the questions related primarily to their willingness to serve and commit, along with specific attitudes, namely flexibility, adaptability, and cultural sensitivity. Sample questions offered by respondents include: “What do you do to relax? Are you in a serious relationship? and What pressures would you feel with limited privacy?” (RPCV Interviews, 2012, 2013). Historical studies of Peace Corps also highlight the focus on applicant commitment during recruitment interviews (Cobbs Hoffman, 1998).

Findings reveal that at the host country-level, Peace Corps/Namibia does not select its own Volunteers. According to a Peace Corps/Namibia information pamphlet for prospective host community partners, Peace Corps/Namibia will “specify the qualifications and restrictions to headquarters six to nine months before the Volunteers are due to arrive in Namibia. The Washington office then determines which candidates will serve in Namibia” (PC/N, “What is Peace Corps?”, n.d.). According to one former Peace Corps administrator, the decision on the number of teaching volunteers sent to Namibia depends on the U.S. budget for the agency. “Normally, every year you are told ahead of time how many volunteers you will be receiving within that specific year. The number doesn’t change much” (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12).

Figure 10 outlines ten steps for the selection and placement of Peace Corps Volunteers. As shown in the figure, the first step is for a country to actually request volunteers to fill jobs. The remainder of the steps for selection and placement rest with

the U.S. Peace Corps. The process involves recruiters, interviews, medical evaluations, and legal background checks.

Figure 10. Peace Corps Volunteer Selection and Placement

1. Requests by countries to fill jobs
2. Candidates submit Volunteer application and Health History Form
3. Recruiter search and review of candidates
4. Candidates nominated by recruiters
5. Legal clearance
6. Placement suitability evaluation and matching for different categories of jobs and many departure dates
7. Invitations sent to selected candidates
8. Invitees make acceptance decision
9. Final medical evaluation
10. Invitees become trainees and depart for their country assignments

Source: Peace Corps (2012a, p. 17)

There was slightly inconsistent information from respondents as to whether the Namibia Ministry of Education engages in host-country screening of Peace Corps Volunteers. The majority of findings indicate that such is not the case; however, the bilateral agreement between the U.S. and Namibia states that Namibia may be an active participant in local screening prior to deployment. The language suggests Peace Corps control over the process. According to the Peace Corps Namibia Implementing Agreement (Peace Corps/Namibia and Namibia National Planning Commission Secretariat, 2006)

Peace Corps shall with the written consent of the PCVs, provide composites, as appropriate, of Volunteers' qualifications (university degrees and professional/relevant volunteer experience) to the Receiving Party prior to dispatching the Volunteers to Namibia. (Article 2.2)

Namibia, on the receiving end, shall “Review the qualifications’ composite and provide feedback to Peace Corps Namibia for all prospective PCVs on a timely basis” (Article 3.3).

In addition, at least one official in the Ministry of Education reported,

...once the Peace Corps has also recruited the people at home, they normally send us the name of those they have selected, and also their CVs. And we will look at their CVs and we say, okay, “These CVs, you know, satisfies our needs in the education sector.” Because there are issues that we have to look at, you know: qualifications, experience in teaching... (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

The respondent added that, The Namibia Ministry of Education respondent shares that while Peace Corps volunteers do not need to have professional qualifications,

...they should have practical experience of teaching...six months or more. That’s the requirement, that the individual should at least have been exposed to a teaching/learning situation for six months or more. (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

The 2012 Peace Corps catalog actually specifies a minimum requirement of three months of practical experience.

Another MOE Official reported that there is enough confidence in Peace Corps/Namibia to select appropriate individuals without the Namibian Ministry of Education having to monitor their process too closely. The respondent shared that if Peace Corps is asked to bring in a qualified teacher, “...you know, relying on the fact that the organization is mature enough to know that when a request of that nature has been, that they will honor that” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12).

On the other hand, one regional MOE official noted debate within his region in regard to professional training and background. When asked about the focus of Peace Corps volunteers in that region, the respondent noted,

As later as we engaged volunteers, I think an issue came up as qualification. I am now referring specifically to our region...the debate came in to say, “Why

would we take somebody who is not professionally-qualified? Is it fair while we don't take a Namibian who is professionally unqualified for obvious reason that he or she is not qualified, but why would we then take on somebody like a Peace Corps volunteer who is not qualified?" (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13)

Such discussion of host-country concerns about the recruitment criteria of Peace Corps teaching volunteers was rare throughout the interviews and fieldwork. The majority of host-country respondents accepted Peace Corps volunteers and associated recruitment and selection processes, regardless of their knowledge that many PCVs were not certified teachers and regardless of their full awareness of such processes or systems.

Placement

Insight into the placement processes of the Peace Corps programs was gathered through interviews with Namibian Ministry of Education officials at the national and regional level, as well as through interviews with secondary school principals. Information was also provided by former U.S. Peace Corps Namibia staff and RPCVs. Supplemental details were provided through the U.S. Peace Corps website and publications requested through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

Findings reveal that over the past five years, the placement of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers has followed an extensive site recruitment process initiated and undertaken by the Peace Corps Namibia staff, primarily an Associate Peace Corps Country Director (APCD) for Education. Respondents consistently noted that an APCD for Education conducts recruitment visits around his/her appointed regions to increase awareness of the Peace Corps program and provides a 10+-page application for schools to complete if they are interested in receiving a Peace Corps teaching volunteer (Peace Corps/Namibia, 2010b). The schools who submit applications are reviewed by Peace Corps Namibia staff

for adequacy in accommodation and location, and are short-listed if suitable. The final determination of placement comes from Peace Corps Namibia after reviewing the school “finalists,” typically through physical visits and reviewing the background of volunteers to assess a proper match. Written materials published on Peace Corps Namibia, along with interviewed former staff call the process “site development,”

site development, meaning that identifying, working with the Ministry to identify schools that needs Peace Corps Volunteer. Go to the Regions, go to the specific school that have applied for a volunteer, and speak to the community to understand what is a Peace Corps Volunteer; what is expected from them as a community when we bring them a volunteer, and what they can expect from volunteers when they receive them. So, it was also to explain to them about who are the Americans, when we talk about Americans because they receive different types of volunteers and we talk about diversity, American diversity, black, white, Asian, Indian-Americans, all those types of things, so it’s really to help the community, the school, to understand, who are the Peace Corps volunteers so that they understand what to expect. (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12)

In addition, all interviewed former Peace Corps/Namibia teaching volunteers reported that in the initial week of pre-service training (PST), they were given descriptions of potential sites and given the opportunity to formally indicate their preference of site. According to respondents, Peace Corps Trainees (PCTs), as they were known at the time, were provided with details about various placements, excluding specific names of schools or geographic regions, and asked to rank the locations. Among the items to inform ranking decisions were: proximity to nearest shopping town, availability of running water, access to electricity, and specific secondary projects or co-curricular projects requested of volunteers by schools. RPCVs also reported a sort of pre-placement interview to discussion their options and choices or preferences with Peace Corps staff, mainly APCDs.

Findings reveal that the national Ministry of Education of Namibia is not involved in the placement of Peace Corps volunteers or development of potential Peace Corps host sites. As mentioned earlier, the Ministry of Education was able to provide some lists of where U.S. Peace Corps volunteers have been placed over the years, but not in any systematic fashion, as the information is not regularly monitored or managed by the national office. The Peace Corps/Namibia post manages and maintains such files.

A Peace Corps/Namibia respondent claims that going through the regional offices for placement is purposeful, noting “the reason why we put it through the regions is because, we want the region to identify the schools that are needy” (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12). Eighty percent of the regional offices reported taking part in forwarding completed school applications and requests to Peace Corps Namibia. At least two regional education administrators for separate regions reported that schools were initiating contact with Peace Corps on their own and this was causing confusion and lack of preparedness for the region. Both reported that in the past, the regional office was not always consulted or informed of submitted Peace Corps applications. As a result, both regions then began deliberately streamlining the applications through the regions. One region expressed appreciation of the new system,

now, Peace Corps has shown that we work together as a team on this project, unlike in the past they went straight to the schools and then the schools would come and ask for things and we would say, we don’t know this person you are talking about. (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13)

Still, in one case, regional officials that were interviewed were not even aware that there were formal applications for schools to request Peace Corps volunteers and had no knowledge of the applications submitted by principals in their jurisdiction. Namibia

Ministry of Education records show that this region, nonetheless, had received at least eight(8) Peace Corps volunteers at various schools over the past five years.

Orientation

Findings were consistent in regards to Peace Corps Volunteer orientation activities. According to returned Volunteers and various gathered archival materials, once individuals were invited to join Peace Corps/Namibia, they received a variety of materials and were required to successfully complete numerous orientation exercises. Many respondents noted that the Namibian government, at various levels, is involved in these training exercises with the U.S. Peace Corps (Peace Corps/Namibia, “What is Peace Corps?”, n.d.). “Colleagues from the Ministry of Education get involved in the training. For example, they draw the trainers from regional offices” (MOE Interview, 11/9/12). The majority of the orientation activities appear to take place in or near the National Institute for Educational Development (NIED) in Okahandja, Namibia, less than one hour north of the capitol, Windhoek.

Records show that the first component mentioned in the formal training for Peace Corps Namibia Volunteers is a brief (2-3 days) pre-departure orientation called “staging,” which is held in the United States. Prior to staging, volunteers invited to join Peace Corps Namibia are provided with a nearly 100-page welcome book and Volunteer Handbook covering a range of topics, including a history of Peace Corps/Namibia, a Namibia country history, information about what to expect as a volunteer, health care and safety tips, official policies, and notes on diversity of cross-cultural issues (Peace Corps, 2008, 2009; Peace Corps/Namibia, 2010a).

All respondents report a much longer orientation in Namibia. Peace Corps Namibia Volunteers reportedly undergo a formal two-three month pre-service training (PST) exercise focused on cross-cultural, language, health and medical, safety and security, and technical skills (Peace Corps, 2008; RPCV Interviews).

Because Peace Corps realizes the need for Volunteers who can bring practical skills and new ideas to their unique assignments, Peace Corps designs a rigorous training programs. The initial training for Volunteers in Namibia is eight to ten weeks long...During Pre-Service Training (PST), Volunteers receive training in Language, Cross Cultural Living Skills, and Technical Skills. (Peace Corps/Namibia. "What is Peace Corps?" section: What preparation do Volunteers receive for their work in Namibia? n.d.)

According to interviews with RPCVs, schedules obtained, and interviews with Namibia Ministry of Education officials, after the first week of PST in Okahandja, Peace Corps Trainees (PCTs) are placed with families in proximity to the training site where they remain for the duration of the training period (MOE Interview, 11/9/12).

Figure 11 provides a breakdown of a typical training program of Peace Corps Volunteers in Namibia. The training program in the figure is taken directly from one respondent's formal description of service, provided at the end of the volunteer experience in Namibia. As shown in the figure, one-hundred thirteen hours, or the majority of the training period, centers on what is called "technical" training, whereby volunteers are introduced to the practice of teaching as well as teaching within the Namibian context. Language training was also consistently mentioned as a core component of the orientation process. As shown in figure 10, roughly one-quarter (27%) of pre-service training focused on local language development. There are thirteen written and spoken languages within Namibia. Individual volunteers are provided with training to correspond with the language spoken in their host communities.

Figure 11. Sample PC/Namibia Pre-Service Training Program

Technical (113 hours): This component of training was designed to introduce trainees to transition from the past apartheid to the current education system in Namibia. Emphasis was placed in the areas of policies of the education system and devising stimulating student centered lesson plans for junior secondary students in the subjects of mathematics, science and English

Language (65 hours): This component of training was designed to equip trainees with a basic proficiency in the language most frequently spoken at their site.

Cross-Cultural (42 hours): This component of training was designed to familiarize trainees with the political, cultural, geographical and historical make-up of the Republic of Namibia.

Health and Medical (21 hours): This component of training focused on preventative medicine, personal health care and safety in a developing country and Namibia specifically.

Source: RPCV5 Description of Service (DOS)

The Peace Corps Volunteer Handbook(2009) highlights the section of the Peace Corps Act which governs the agency's focus on foreign language proficiency.

No person shall be assigned to duty as a Volunteer under this Act in any foreign country or area unless at the time of such assignment he (or she) possesses such reasonable proficiency as his (or her) assignment requires in speaking the language of the country or area to which he (or she) is assigned. (p. 32)

Returned Peace Corps Volunteers consistently reported that they had a roughly 15-minute Language Proficiency Interview (LPI) prior to being sworn-in. Each of the RPCVs interviewed passed the LPI; however, volunteers varied in their reported comfort with the language at the time of deployment to their sites. Additional language training and re-tests for volunteers who did not pass the LPI in the initial administration was reportedly provided after two months at their placement site.

A regional official commented that part of the volunteer orientation is a preliminary field visit to their host community, noting “when the volunteers come, they

even bring them down to the schools for a few days, just to get a feel for the environment before they go back. That is before the placement starts” (DD/R1 Interview, 2/25/13).

Select principals and all interviewed RPCVs also noted the pre-placement visit. A principal in Region 2 noted, “There is a process for the Peace Corps...the volunteer is sent to come and acclimatize in the area before him or her start, and then we can start” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13). At least four (30%) principals reported that they attended a brief orientation in Okahandja and then drove them the volunteer back to the school site for the one to two week acclimatization exercise.

Findings reveal that an individual is considered a Peace Corps Trainee(PCT) and not a Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) until he or she successfully completes PST in Namibia and is “sworn-in.” According to the Peace Corps Volunteer Handbook (2009),

Upon successful completion of training, trainees who qualify for Peace Corps service are required by law to swear or affirm an oath of loyalty to the United States. This oath, the text of which is provided below, cannot be waived under any circumstances...

I, (your name), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America against all enemies, domestic or foreign, that I take this obligation freely, and without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge my duties in the Peace Corps (so help me God). (p.33)

Although Peace Corps teaching volunteers are deployed to their school sites after PST, former volunteers also consistently reported that an additional orientation process, or “Phase II,” of orientation takes place after the swearing-in exercises, at the actual site. During this “Phase II,” RPCVs reported that they had assignments to observe and become acquainted with their community. While one RPCV noted that he was asked to teach on behalf of the acting principal during this time, most RPCVs consistently reported that

they did not assume any teaching duties “Phase II”, usually a 4-6 week period at the end of the school year. One RPCV noted that the principal was relaxed and allowed the volunteer to “roam around” (RPCV Interview, 11/11/12). A roughly two-week activity called “Reconnect” back in Okahandja with all volunteers is then reportedly held prior to the end-of-year school break to respond to any lingering training needs or concerns (RPCV Interviews).

Many principals reported that school-site orientation was not needed for Peace Corps teaching volunteers based on extensive pre-service training activities. One principal noted,

You can see, with the Peace Corps...All the training they got...make them ready...When they come, they just start. It is like they are part and parcel of the school already. You don’t see any difference (between the Peace Corps Volunteer teacher and the local Namibian teacher), just maybe the first few days...or every now and then. (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13)

Some Peace Corps teaching volunteers are also reportedly provided with a teaching counterpart at the school level. The requirement to have a local counterpart is outlined in the Peace Corps Volunteer Supervisor’s Handbook. Two RPCVs noted that this is standard practice, however, one regional Namibia Ministry of Education official noted that this is a loose arrangement (DD/R5 Interview, 2/5/13).

Indigenization

Interviews with regional officials, school administrators, and individual volunteers provided insight on program monitoring and support activities and processes. All regions reported that teachers, both local and foreign volunteers, were typically monitored at the school-level by principals and Heads of Departments (HODs), and at the

regional-level by advisory teachers, education officers, and Inspectors (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13; D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). In addition, regional respondents noted that they received feedback on teaching experiences from participants at periodic workshops (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13). Findings reveal that any specialized visits and monitoring activities for teaching volunteers were initiated by the Peace Corps program staff.

Volunteer Assignments

Findings consistently revealed that while Peace Corps Volunteers were primary assignments, most were expected to initiate secondary projects as well. In most observed cases, Peace Corps Volunteers had less than full-time teaching responsibilities. Also, only in a minority of cases did they teach mathematics and science, even when that was the initial request. There was more consistency with those recruited to teach English, although, they often were given additional subjects to teach, including Art, Life Skills, and Physical Education. As a Peace Corps/Namibia respondent notes,

... in a school, you are coming, as a math volunteer, for example, but you are also expected to take on other subjects, so, those subjects are exactly within those areas: life skills, those were the main subjects. Some of them taught geography, but, yeah, so they can take on any other subject, sometimes they take two or three of them. (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12)

Some respondents indicate that there was an explicit limit expected of the number of hours and periods a Peace Corps Volunteer would teach, preventing PCVs from assuming a full-time teaching load. Two RPCVs noted that teaching volunteers were only allowed to teach a maximum of 70% of the full-time load during the first year, which would have been about 30 periods per week (RPCV Interview, 5/29/13). A few RPCVs noted that this was so that the volunteer would “not get overwhelmed” (RPCV Interview, 5/29/13). Another RPCV indicated that the schedule was intended to free the volunteer

for other elements of their community service, or “secondary projects”. According to the 2013 Peace Corps Supervisors Handbook, preference for placing PCVs “...is given to schools where PCVs can teach a 70% load and work on teaching, resource, and community development activities” (p.9).

Regional and school officials shared two additional rationales for the reduced teaching load of many Peace Corps teaching volunteers: desire for specialized skill, and lack of qualification to assume the full-time teaching role.

A school administrator in Region 1 reported that the request and utilization of Peace Corps teaching volunteers addressed a pressing “crisis of knowledge...not necessarily because we have a shortage of staff” (R1/S2 Principal Interview, 2/4/13). In this school, the Peace Corps volunteers were primarily used for Information and Communication Technology (ICT) support, rather than for regular subject teaching. Skills transfer was also mentioned in respect to formal opportunities to help host community teachers improve their English language proficiency.

So, if you have Peace Corps volunteers coming in, part of what they were doing was to actually in the afternoons, to run English language classes to help the teachers to master basic English, you know, structures that they could use, you know, basically focusing on English for communication purposes and so on. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

Namibia Ministry of Education officials noted that because Peace Corps Volunteers were not typically qualified teachers,

Peace Corps...were not directly involved in the teaching practice itself. But they were trying to assist the teacher, giving kinda, what you can call, “skill transfer” in subjects like English, mathematics, physical science... they normally come to assist the teachers and also to help planning the subjects, the scheme of work, the topics... (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

Regional respondents also shared that they visited classes to monitor the teachers and noted a distinction in how Peace Corps volunteers taught. “I think it was also came through, through class observation of some of these volunteers. They would approach the subject in somewhat slightly different from you-know, conventional way” (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13).

Another regional official shared that schools were anxious to have volunteers and that some teachers advocated for “co-teaching” (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13). In one case within this region, much of the full teacher’s work responsibilities were reportedly pawned off on the Peace Corps volunteer. According to the respondent, “You would find that the local person would have more ‘free time’ and allow the volunteer, ‘Ah, you go, I have got some other work to do. You go.’ And it did not work” (DD/R4 Interview, 2/5/13). Two RPCVs commented that they often taught classes for other teachers.

One principal shared that while Peace Corps volunteers were effectively assisting in English language development, they were observed to not meet the curriculum goals. In this instance the principal shared that, “we also have, we try to at least have another experience teacher who knows the curriculum, who tries to guide them” (R3/S3 Principal Interview, 1/17/13).

National, regional, and school officials offered numerous activities directly initiated or supported by Peace Corps volunteers. Volunteers also attend a special Project Design and Management (PDM) training during their first few months of service to support them in the development of such activities. As one national Ministry of Education official reported,

Um....The, one of the very aspect that we highly appreciate is that when a Peace Corps Volunteer is attached or is deployed to a school, what they normally

do, is they do not only concentrate on their official responsibilities, if I can put it that way, that they are also involved in community development programs and they look at the need-situation of the school and they try to mobilize resources from home. You know, for example, we have cases where...an administration block was built, or a laboratory, you know, or a library, just because of having a Peace Corps Volunteer in that particular school who made the necessary assessment and who try to mobilize, you know, resources from home. (MOE Interview, 11/9/12)

One regional director noted that the regional office often received requests from Peace Corps Volunteers seeking transportation and other support for co-curricular activities, saying “They go the extra mile...” (D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13). The activities broadly included: sport (handball, netball, soccer), debate, gender empowerment clubs, drama, chess, conservancy/environmental work, library, ICT, and health education, and general fundraising. A few examples are included below.

Starting or expanding a school or community library was a commonly-shared activity. One respondent noted amusingly, “They did tremendous work...She shipped a whole whatever (laughs) of books from America so that she could organize that library (laughs)” (D/R5 Interview, 2/19/13).

One principal showed evidence of a project of Peace Corps involvement in environmental work, noting, “Even after-hours and in the community. They start a conservancy. It was their dream” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13). Several returned Peace Corps volunteers reported that they attended a gardening workshop during their service.

In regard to initiating co-curricular activities and supplemental developmental opportunities for learners, Peace Corps education/teaching volunteers were often discussed in contrast to local Namibian teachers. Some Namibian respondents criticized local teachers for their lack of comparable engagement. Other Namibian respondents

pointed to the fact that the Peace Corps volunteers are relatively “unattached,” somewhat invalidating the comparison. As one school administrator noted, “Maybe they have time for them. Maybe we Namibians don’t have too much time for our learners. With these volunteers, they have a lot of time” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13). A Peace Corps/Namibia respondent, who is a native Namibian, expanded on the sentiment, noting

Our teachers, even though they may be wanting to do the same thing, their commitment is just too big because most of these teachers are teachers and they are mothers at home, most of them. And they have no time to commit to other activities. And volunteers are coming with more, with spare time to be able to focus and concentrate and focus on setting up Math clubs, English clubs, um, whatever, a number of clubs. And a lot of students are benefitting from those activities that volunteers are doing. (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12)

Monitoring

Findings reveal that the U.S. Peace Corps has an active visitation and assessment process for Peace Corps Volunteers. Peace Corps visits are reportedly set up to find ways to “support the volunteers from different angles” (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12). A former Peace Corps/Namibia staff member noted,

we even have rules, how many times do you have to visit a volunteer within their first year of service, as well as the second year...Within the first year, you have to visit them at least twice...And the first visit should always be after three months, once they have been placed. And that is just to allow them to settle them on their own, be able to, try to help them integrate in the community on their own, so that they are not that much dependent on Peace Corps. (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12)

Respondents at the school and volunteer-levels consistently reported getting visits from Peace Corps staff to check on various aspects of the volunteer’s performance, adjustment, and well-being. All respondents at the school and volunteer levels reported receiving at least one visit from Peace Corps/Namibia staff. One RPCV noted that she “just had one visit from Peace Corps...We sat around my fruit tree eating berries” (RPCV

Interview, 11/11/12). While returned Volunteers interviewed in this study did not consistently report receiving more than one such visit, one respondent noted having over ten visits, including visits from PC Washington staff.

Returned volunteers shared that three times each year, they were required to individually use an electronic Volunteer Reporting Tool (VRT) to submit updates on activities, which was partly descriptive and partly quantitative. According to the 2010 Peace Corps Namibia Volunteer Handbook (2010a), the reports produced by the VRT

...provide a chance for reflection, help create a dialogue with your host-country supervisors and APCD, and provide necessary programmatic feedback and data to Washington and Ministry officials to demonstrate the collective efforts and hard work of PCVs in the field. (Section 5.4)

In a few, though more rare cases, the relative freedom of the Peace Corps teaching volunteers was expressed in desires to explore the country or sub-continent and have higher mobility than local teachers. While the Peace Corps Volunteer Handbooks (2009, 2010) outline specific expectations for remaining within host communities, many volunteers and principals report the volunteers often traveled outside of their host sites during their service. One principal shared about Peace Corps volunteers that “they like to take too many days off. Every weekend, and sometimes they are arriving late, on Monday, and leaving early on Friday” (R4/S4, Principal Interview, 2/6/13). Such movement was noted also by Peace Corps/Namibia, though highlighting scale, “But, the positive thing is that, sometimes, within a group of 30 volunteers, you may only have three of them that are really giving you a hard time” (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12). Findings from school administrators also suggest that although Peace Corps Volunteer absenteeism may have occurred based on extended excursions, it was not often.

Support

Just as in the observations of monitoring activities, most of the support for Peace Corps volunteers was observed to come from the Peace Corps. Support for Peace Corps Volunteers included housing, in-service training, peer mentoring, and various allowances as predicted by the program. With the exception of housing, the majority of the formal support reportedly came from the U.S. government; although hosts did receive a small stipend.

Whereas accommodation challenges were routinely mentioned in interviews and published materials about TAC in Namibia, housing issues were rarely mentioned as a problem in discussions about Peace Corps teaching volunteers. Some interviews actually contrasted the problems with TAC housing with the willingness of Peace Corps volunteers to adjust to wherever they were placed. A national Ministry of Education official attributed the housing flexibility to age, noting, “Young people are very...these guys, if you, you know Peace Corps, if you are still, try to look around, you will find somebody has pitched a tent. To them, that’s fine” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12).

The majority of respondents offered that the clarity in Peace Corps housing guidelines was appreciated and stemmed potential confusion or conflict. The Country Agreements governing both TAC and Peace Corps include a brief description of the duties of the Namibian government with regard to housing. The Peace Corps, however, goes further to stipulate that the housing must be deemed suitable by the Government of Namibia and “...with concurrence of Peace Corps” (Peace Corps Operational Agreement, n.d.).

The Peace Corps Namibia Implementing Agreement (Peace Corps/Namibia & Namibia National Planning Commission Secretariat, 2006) further states that “Peace Corps shall in consultation with the Receiving Party ensure that arrangements regarding housing for the PCVs are made prior to arrival at their work site” (Article 2.5). Additionally, regions and schools interested in hosting Peace Corps Volunteers are provided with itemized housing guidelines, as shown in Figure 12 on the following page. The guidelines and requirements were found in multiple documents, including the Peace Corps/Namibia Application for Secondary School Volunteers, the “What is Peace Corps?” publication for Peace Corps/Namibia, site visit letters to schools who have applied to receive Peace Corps teaching volunteers, and the Peace Corps/Namibia Supervisor’s Handbook. Moreover, most respondents confirmed that proposed volunteer housing/accommodation is reviewed through a site visit by Peace Corps staff and subject to approval prior to final acceptance of a volunteer placement site. One school application form for U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers notes,

Each community should collaborate with the Regional Office to ensure that all housing issues are resolved prior to the arrival of the Volunteer and that all necessary basic household items are in place. Volunteers will not be placed in communities where accommodation is not fully ready prior to their arrival. (Peace Corps/Namibia, 2010b, p.5)

According to a recent Peace Corps/Namibia handbook, “Peace Corps/Namibia is transitioning to family homestays for volunteer service, instead of government housing, thereby ensuring better community integration and improved language learning” (Peace Corps/Namibia, 2010a, section 6.4). Respondents at the Namibia Ministry of Education were also aware of Peace Corps’ position regarding homestead. One official noted, where

we have accommodation, we will provide accommodation. But otherwise, Peace Corps, their intention was to place the Volunteers with families, which that means they almost operate in homestead village levels. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

The guidelines outlined in Figure 12 apply in whichever case.

Figure 12. Peace Corps Volunteer Housing Guidelines

Housing Guidelines:

Acceptable housing includes:

- a) living on a homestead,
- b) in teacher housing or a flat in hostel,
- c) shared housing with a Namibian colleague of the same gender or,
- d) shared housing with another volunteer of the same gender.

However, in all situations, is it required that the housing provide adequate privacy and provisions for the volunteers safety and security.

Requirements

- a) A source of safe drinking water located within 1-2 km from volunteer housing or reliable transportation to nearest source.
- b) Distance between volunteer housing and school of no more than 4-5 km.
- c) Private room (sleeping quarters).
- d) Separate room that can be used for cooking (kitchen)
- d) Screens on bedroom windows
- e) Water tight roof.
- f) Floor which must be cement or wood.
- g) Secure/strong doors and windows which close tightly and can be locked. (If the house is known to be a security risk then burglar bars, adequate to prevent break-ins, must be placed on all doors and windows.)

Source(s): Peace Corps/Namibia Application Form (2010b); Peace Corps Supervisors Handbook (n.d.)

Only a few school and regional administrators (in Regions 2 and 5) shared any problem with the housing needs of PC volunteers, and it centered mainly on safety and security rather than comfort. A principal noted, “For the U.S. government, they send someone, and there’s a criteria, and then they mark off, and mark off, too much safety concern, but it’s a peaceful area, this one” (R2/S2 Principal Interview, 1/29/13).

In one case, which was not the common sentiment, a principal contrasted Peace Corps and TAC Volunteers noting, “If I look at the attitude of (the TAC) Volunteer and

what I have experienced with some of the Peace Corps Volunteers as well, it's totally different" (R2/S1 Principal Interview, 11/22/12). The principal continued,

I believe it's not all of the Peace Corps Volunteers. I cannot say that all of them do behave in this specific way, but some instances that I recall is that also, very demanding. "I want this." And if it comes to housing, for example... "I must have this and I must have that I must..." They are not taking into account the situation of a specific school. "And I must get an alarm in my room because it is not very safe."

In spite of the detail paid to housing by Peace Corps/Namibia staff, former Peace Corps/Namibia volunteers interviewed for this study also shared a few challenges in their housing arrangements. The main challenge related to furniture and appliances that broke during service, and minor associated inconveniences.

Returned Peace Corps Volunteers interviewed in this study all indicated a variety of training opportunities extended to them during service. Letters sent to principals requesting Volunteer permission to attend such trainings were also reviewed. The trainings ranged from general all-volunteer sessions, to issue-specific workshops and professional development opportunities. In some cases, training activities were reportedly extended to designated teachers within schools where Volunteers were placed. The three most popularly-referenced voluntary in-service training(IST) workshops were: "male engagement," which addressed gender-related issues in the school and community environments; "Project Design & Management(PDM)," which included training on grant-writing; and "gardening," which provided various techniques and strategies on planting in harsh or non-traditional environments. Each workshop typically lasted for about one week.

In addition, there was a required training shortly after the start of the placement, at mid-year, and near the end of service.

In the second year of service, Peace Corps provides the Volunteers with a three day Close of Service Conference. This conference allows Volunteers to review their Peace Corps experience, give recommendations to Peace Corps, and develop plans for closing out work with their host organization, finishing projects, and moving on to life after Peace Corps Service. (n.d. and unpaginated. “What is Peace Corps?”)

Through interviews with Returned Peace Corps Volunteers and a review of the 2009 PC Volunteer Handbook, it was gathered that approximately six formal allowances were provided to Peace Corps teaching volunteers in Namibia serving in the past five years. A seventh allowance, a one-time “bike allowance,” is available but is subject to approval and not automatically provided to all volunteers. It is uncertain how many volunteers request and receive the benefit of the bike allowance. The list of volunteer allowances is included in Table 7 below. Brief descriptions are provided for a few of the items.

Table 7. Peace Corps/Namibia Volunteer Allowances

Walk-around Allowance (during Pre-Service Training)
Readjustment Allowance (monthly deposits for future withdrawal)
Settling-in Allowance (one-time): for household supplies, cell phone
Leave Allowance (monthly): for supporting excursions during break
Living Allowance (monthly): for food, personal maintenance, and incidentals.
Travel Allowance (quarterly): for the cost of periodic transportation to Windhoek
Bike Allowance (one-time): towards the purchase of a bike (subject to approval)
Source: RPCV Namibia Interviews; Peace Corps Volunteer Handbook, 2009

Aside from the allowances, no other type of payment to the Volunteer is reportedly authorized. The Peace Corps Volunteer Handbook (2009) states,

The Peace Corps does not allow trainees or Volunteers to receive payment for any work done while in the Peace Corps, invest money within the host country, or engage in any other activity for personal financial gain while serving. (p.22)

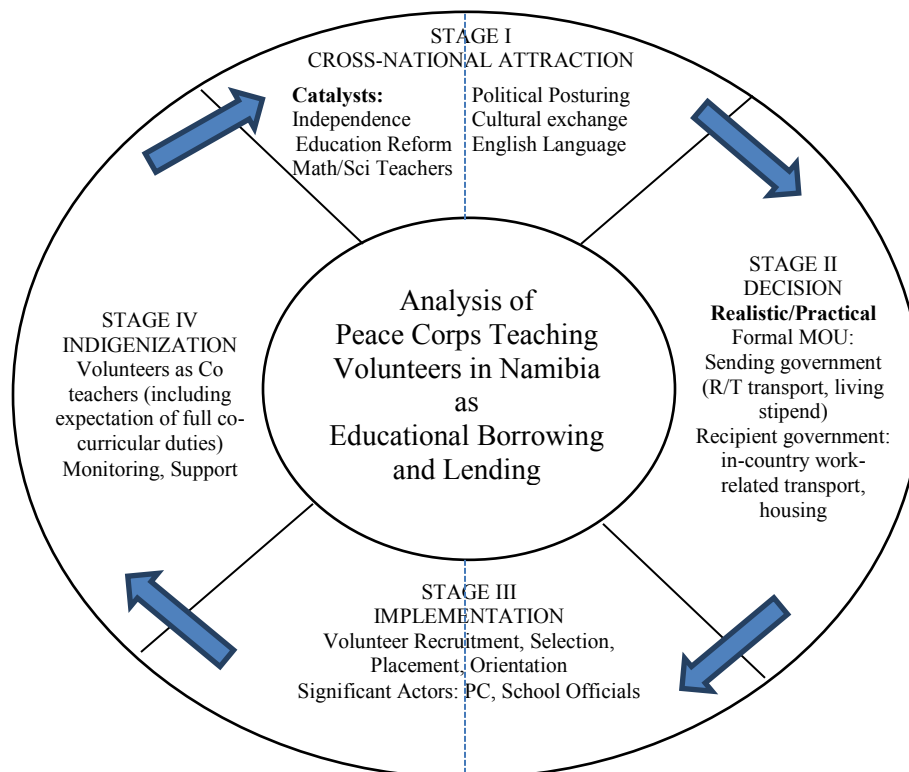
There is an extensive Peace Corps office in downtown Windhoek with resources and support for Volunteers. The main office includes library resources, teaching resources, cultural resources, showers and gathering space for Volunteers passing through. Over two dozen staff members are listed as part of the Peace Corps/Namibia team and they are reportedly tasked to address volunteer needs in the area of: general administration, programming, training, medical support and health, safety and security, transportation, and finance. According to the Peace Corps Namibia Volunteer Handbook (2010), there are also two satellite offices for Volunteers serving further North.

In addition to paid Peace Corps staff and administrators, Peace Corps/Namibia has an evolved network of serving Peace Corps Volunteers that have assumed specialized duties related to their area of interest, specialization. Formal volunteer leadership groups and systems include the Peace Corps Volunteer Action Network (VAN), Volunteer Support Network (VSN), Volunteer Leaders (PCVLs), and Resource Volunteers. These groups and systems support PCVs during training, in the field, and in areas of special concern. Some are tasked with publishing and updating training and support material from the Volunteer perspective.

Figure 13 summarizes the findings outlined in the chapter. As shown above, six key catalysts informed the attraction of Peace Corps Namibia into Namibia's education sector. The decision to bring the volunteer program into the country was practical, informed by formal contracts. In stage three, Peace Corps personnel recruited, selected, placed, and oriented teaching volunteers for service. School officials took part by completing applications and taking part in the school vetting process. In the fourth

borrowing stage, or indigenization, Peace Corps teaching volunteers were found to enact the role of co-teachers, rather than full teachers, while explicit monitoring and support was still very much managed by the U.S. Peace Corps organization, rather than the local host community.

Figure 13. Peace Corps/Namibia Within Education Borrowing Framework



Chapter VI

COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF THE U.S. PEACE CORPS AND THE NIGERIA TECHNICAL AID CORPS IN NAMIBIA

...the basic difference is that Peace Corps is focusing on sending in young people and we saw the young people as people who are willing to learn and what have you, so send them in that environment where they can also influence the environment in which they operate. Whereas for Nigerians, we insisted on, you need to have been trained as a teacher before you can actually be accepted to be on this program...we are not looking for someone who has been teaching mathematics, but has no paper-qualification that proves that they are qualified...I think that is basically the difference. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

In the following sections of this chapter, I will compare findings on the development, implementation and indigenization of the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps international teaching volunteers and programs in Namibia, outlining key similarities and differences. I will also begin to discuss the implications of findings to key theories and related studies reviewed in chapter two.

This dissertation explores borrowing and lending theories from two different vantages: 1) the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps as a model and policy borrowed from the U.S. Peace Corps, and 2) the borrowing of foreign teachers into Namibia's domestic education sector and system. While the latter borrowing analysis is the primary focus of the research and comprises the bulk of the data collection, the former revealed findings worthy of presentation and discussion at this time.

U.S. Peace Corps as a Model for the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps

The Peace Corps Act contains a "Congressional declaration of policy of encouragement" which aims, in part, "...to encourage countries and areas to establish

programs under which their citizens and nationals would volunteer to serve in order to help meet the needs of less developed countries or areas for trained manpower” (Peace Corps Act, 22 U.S.C. 2501.a.a). Through interviews and gathered documents, there was not much, if any, overt attention on this component of the Peace Corps Act in relation to Nigeria. Nonetheless, as discussed in Chapter 1 and as shown in Table 8, the three primary goals of the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps are very similar.

Table 8. Primary Goals – Foreign Volunteer Programs

U.S. Peace Corps	Nigeria Technical Aid Corps
1. To help the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained men and women.	1. Giving assistance on the basis of assessed and perceived needs of the recipient countries.
2. To help promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served.	2. Promoting cooperation and understanding between Nigeria and the recipient countries.
3. To help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans.	3. Facilitating meaningful contacts between the youths of Nigeria and those of the recipient countries.

SOURCE: <http://peacecorps.gov>

http://www.mfa.gov.ng/technical_aid_corps.php

In addition, both programs require their volunteers commit to serve for two years in whichever country they are placed. Neither program allows their volunteers to choose the exact country to which they are deployed. Findings reveal that the U.S. Peace Corps, however, allows volunteers to at least indicate a regional preference at the time of application and during the interview.

Despite many similarities in the programs' primary objectives and service structure, this study did not find much evidence to indicate that the programs consciously shared, lent, or borrowed any policies. There was actually conscious denial of direct borrowing.

Earlier studies and reports claim that the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps was modeled in part on the United States Peace Corps (Adebanwi, 2012; Akinyemi, 2007). Findings from this research challenge this contention, however, citing other predecessors and inspiration. According to the Ambassador General of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, "the concept of using volunteers to provide services as a form of international developmental tool to the needy countries was first officially recognized through the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) resolution of 1961" (Daura, 2010b, p.110). Although 1961 is the year the U.S. Peace Corps officially began, Daura (2006, 2010b) claims that the U.S. Peace Corps started after the United Nations Volunteers program, which was actually created nine years later, in 1970. Further, while quoted as identifying a direct connection between the philosophy of the U.S. Peace Corps and TAC in an earlier study (Adebanwi, 2012), respondents from the Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs in this dissertation research directly denied any conscious borrowing of the U.S. Peace Corps model. In a reflection piece on the first 20 years of TAC, Dr. Akinyemi, the main protagonist of the Scheme, shared specific national events that led to the development of TAC while acknowledging perhaps an unconscious borrowing of the U.S. Peace Corps model,

Because you have had an example of the United States Peace Corps of which Nigeria was a beneficiary and there is no doubt that that was at the back of my mind but without the following events, there would not have been an opportunity

to create or to crystallize it. In other words, the conception of the TAC was borrowed from others. (Akinyemi, 2010, p.4)

The distancing of the TAC program origins from the U.S. Peace Corps appears to relate to findings of a study of outcome-based education(OBE) policy and borrowing in South Africa (Spreen, 2004). In that study, the external reference for the program was concealed as the program became more popular and established. In this case, the political-relationship history of the United States and Nigeria may have further pushed the notion of conscious borrowing aside. I also contend that as South-South cooperation is often placed in contrast to or as an alternative to Western or traditional aid, it would be ironic or conflicting to acknowledge that a successful initiative is directly modeled after such a project.

A more thorough investigation on the policy-side within Nigeria may have offered more evidence. The Minister of Foreign Affairs who initiated TAC in 1986/1987 was the primary informant for such questions. Members of his planning team at that time may have been able to provide further insight into whether and how elements of the U.S. Peace Corps were considered or factored into the operational plan for Nigeria's TAC.

Overview of Findings

The number of Peace Corps volunteers that have served in Namibia(1,286) is roughly four times the number of Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers sent to the country (322) since independence in 1990. According to records provided by the Namibia Ministry of Education and the United States Peace Corps Headquarters, between 2009 and 2012, approximately 70 Peace Corps volunteers have completed service in Namibia's education sector, compared with about 48 Nigeria Technical Aid Corps

teaching volunteers, a much more comparable number. The majority of the Peace Corps volunteers have served in primary and combined schools, while Nigeria TAC volunteers have served in combined and junior and senior secondary schools.

Data from various sources show that within Namibia's education sector, the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps is decidedly more focused on technical expertise. Multi-level analysis reveals differences in ownership by program and by level. TAC was found to foster more joint ownership on a national or policy level than the United States Peace Corps in Namibia. The findings also show, however, that Peace Corps planning activities involve more community-level ownership and engagement than TAC project management.

Figure 14. PC/Namibia and TAC/Namibia within Education Borrowing Framework

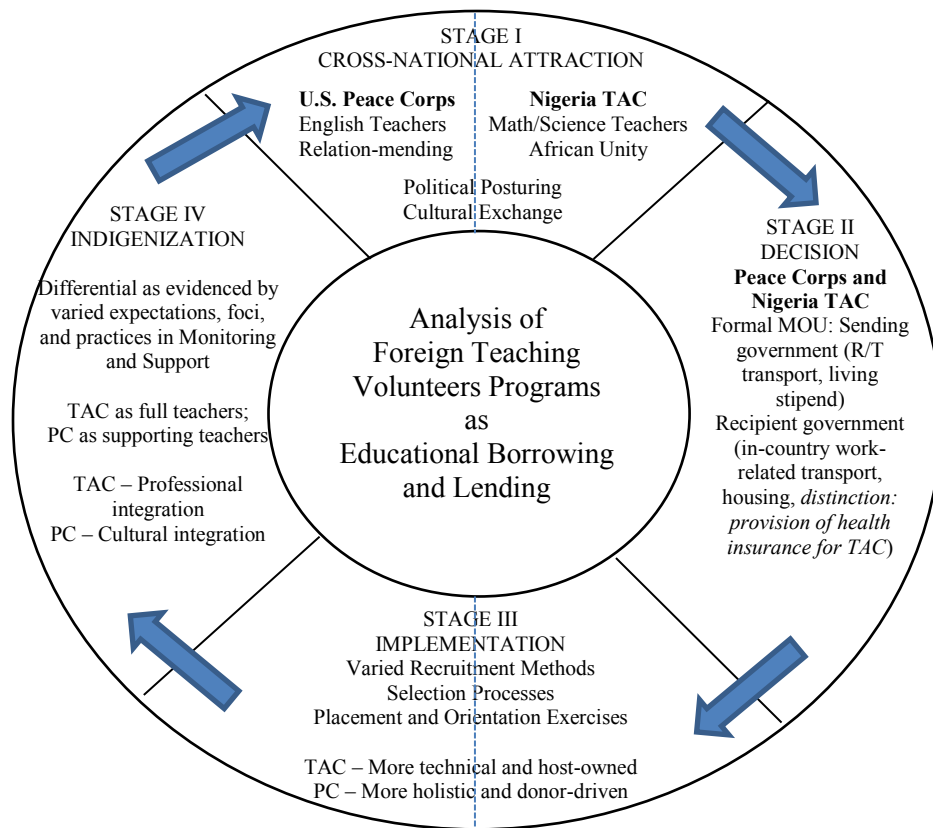


Figure 14 outlines the similarities and differences in the two programs along the four-stage model of educational borrowing. The similarities were most visible in the second phase, or decision phase, while the most glaring differences appeared in the third and fourth stages, implementation and indigenization, respectively. While there were similarities in stage one - the catalysts for the programs, findings reveal that key ideological differences in the attraction of the two programs in Namibia led to the majority of the differences in subsequent stages. Findings reveal that TAC/Namibia embraces a macro-level approach to goals and operation, paying close attention to professional needs and professing to support the larger capacity-building interests of the sub-continental region. Peace Corps/Namibia, on the other hand, was found to focus more on the individual volunteer and individual community in goals and operation.

Attraction

While there was little clarity on the origins and original stimulus of the Nigeria TAC program in Namibia, officials were clear about when, how, and why the U.S. Peace Corps entered the country at Independence. A variety of similarities were found in exploring the attraction of both programs to Namibia's education sector. Political change was the primary impulse for the attraction of both the Peace Corps and TAC. Political posturing and cultural exchange were also common catalysts for bringing both programs into Namibia's schools. The U.S. Peace Corps, however, was much more aggressive than TAC in drawing attention to the partnership and fostering deliberate exchange between volunteers and host community members.

Distinctions were also apparent. TAC/Namibia was distinct in its appeal as a Pan-African solidarity project and as a South-South cooperative initiative. The Peace Corps

was distinctively attractive because of Namibia's shift to English as the national language. Peace Corps/Namibia was also distinctive, in part, in its desire to explicitly mend the U.S./Namibia relationship which was strained through the struggle for Namibian independence. The desire for mending was shared by both the U.S. and Namibia.

An evident teacher shortage in Namibia appears to fuel the need for foreign teaching volunteers, especially in the subjects of secondary mathematics and sciences. In practice, however, lack of qualified teachers was more a factor in attracting the Nigeria TAC relationship than the partnership with the U.S. Peace Corps. From the Peace Corps, Namibia mainly wanted fluent English language-speaking volunteers to support student, teacher, and host-community transition to the new national language. While Nigeria is an English-speaking country, Namibia respondents noted that the Nigerian dialect is difficult to understand. As such, the TAC partnership was not sought as a way to help build local English expertise. Findings reveal that overall teacher shortage was not a primary catalyst in the initial attraction of Peace Corps to Namibia, nor is it currently a primary motivating factor.

Decision

Decisions to formalize both programs in Namibia were decidedly realistic or practical, yet laced with theoretical ideas of what the "partnership" may produce. Details about how to utilize the two foreign volunteer programs are currently rooted in formal memorandums of understandings(MOUs) between the governments. While the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps Implementing Agreement is a contract between the Namibia Ministry of Education and the Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Peace Corps

Country Agreement is a contract between the Namibia Planning Commission and the U.S. Peace Corps.

Neither the main Nigeria-Namibia nor the U.S.-Namibia agreement goes into detail about the specific activities or areas of specialization of the volunteer.

Supplemental reports, however, clearly outline the parameters of the exchange for Nigeria TAC education volunteers. TAC volunteers must be experienced and qualified mathematics and science secondary school teachers. The U.S. Peace Corps agreement, because it is not directly through any particular line Ministry, appears to have broader reaching power to more easily expand sub-sectors of service within education or even into other sectors of service.

Both current MOUs state that skilled individuals will be offered from sending governments to provide needed services to the host country for a period of two years. The current agreements for both programs request Namibia, as the host country, to provide housing, local transportation, and cost-free work visas for volunteers, while the sending governments will provide transportation to and from the country of service and a living stipend for their nationals during their service in Namibia. In addition, as mentioned in the prior chapter, the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps has arranged for the Namibian government to provide health insurance for their volunteers. Peace Corps Namibia employs a medical officer and provides independent health insurance for their volunteers. In practice, numerous regional and school-level respondents report that there is a heavier financial burden involved in managing Nigerian volunteers.

The agreements both stipulate that the Namibian government will screen recommended volunteers for adequacy, prior to their receipt in-country. Through

interviews with responsible divisions within the Namibia Ministry of Education, it was revealed that in practice, however, only the Nigerian TAC volunteers are consistently subject to such host-country government pre-selection screening. With the exception of Namibia's health insurance provision for TAC Volunteers, no apparent distinctions were found in the official policies between the two projects in regard to the decision or formal conditions of the arrangements. Neither program appears to regularly update their contracts with the Namibian government.

While the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers are provided with a contract which includes the bilateral program agreement, Peace Corps volunteers are provided with the completed application for volunteers for the school to which they are assigned.

Implementation

Implementation of the two programs was reviewed in respect to volunteer recruitment, selection, orientation, and placement. The U.S. Peace Corps was found to engage a larger and more diverse number of actors in the processes in both the donor and recipient country, and at the regional and school community levels within Namibia.

Recruitment

Neither the U.S. Peace Corps nor the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps has completely recipient-contingent recruitment processes, which is characteristic of the unilateral IVS model outlined by Sherraden, Stringham, Sow, & McBride (2006). Both volunteer programs keep current and anticipated host country needs in mind, however, when marketing for volunteers. The Peace Corps selection process is somewhat more attuned to the host country need than is the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps. Peace Corps selection is

based, in part, on a combination of volunteer availability and specific requests or agreements of numbers of volunteers scheduled to be deployed in a respective sector and country. A Peace Corps volunteer will only be selected or “invited” to join if a placement fit is apparent and deployment is imminent. A Nigeria TAC volunteer may be selected if he or she is found qualified, and will remain in the TAC database until a fit for placement arises. Findings reveal that during each subsequent recruitment biennium, TAC volunteers who completed orientation but have not yet been placed are asked, via newspaper announcement, to update their records and availability.

Table 9. Volunteer Recruitment – Peace Corps and TAC Education Program

	U.S. PEACE CORPS	NIGERIA TECHNICAL AID CORPS
RECRUITMENT PERIOD	• Year-round	• 6-weeks, every two years (or biennia)
GENERAL ELIGIBILITY – Education Volunteers	• U.S. Citizen • 18 years or older • Bachelor’s Degree (minimum GPA: 2.5, C/C+) • (“Applicants typically have at least three months of experience in tutoring or informal teaching with small groups” –Peace Corps website)	• Nigerian Citizen • Completed NYSC* • Professional Qualification or Certification in teaching • 3 years professional experience in teaching
OFFICIAL RECRUITMENT METHODS	• Multiple advertisements – Year-round (Billboards, public transportation, newspapers, magazines) • Website (www.peacecorps.org) • Special events sponsored by 8 Regional Recruitment Offices (informational meetings, webcasts) • Various College and Career Fairs (nation-wide) • Recruitment representatives/officers (university campuses, regional offices) • Catalog	• Single advertisement in four national newspapers (2 days) • Website (www.tacng.org) • Sensitization exercises – roaming locations for interviews and orientations for shortlisted and final candidates

Sources: Peace Corps, 2012a; TAC Interviews; *NYSC/National Youth Service Corps

Table 9 above compares the volunteer recruitment processes. As shown, the recruitment systems of the programs especially differ in the extent of how aggressively the programs are marketed. While both programs have websites¹, the U.S. Peace Corps has a much more comprehensive and direct strategy for increasing awareness of the program. Returned Peace Corps Volunteers typically knew someone who served as PCVs, while Nigerian TAC volunteers learned primarily through newspaper advertisements.

There was a somewhat passive approach to marketing of TAC in Nigeria and abroad, even in the host country, at all levels. While the Heads of State and senior line Ministers were well-aware of TAC and foreign policy goals, these and other respondents consistently shared and confirmed that the TAC program is not very well-known by stakeholders. The most common reason given by Nigerian officials for such lack of awareness was a conscious decision to not aggressively market the resource. One TAC official stated that they give “quiet assistance” and that there was “no selfish need to broadcast” their program (TAC Interview, 10/17/12). Such a stance reinforces larger rhetoric of Nigerian foreign policy mentioned in earlier studies and reviews. According to Fage(2012), “The leadership insisted that Nigeria should not impose herself upon other weaker nations. Instead she should wait until such countries come on their own to ask for aid and assistance” (p.194). In a few interviews and casual discussion during this research, there was local confusion about who was funding the Nigerians who were teaching in Namibia’s schools. While most, aside from government officials and formal

¹ www.peacecorps.gov; www.tacng.org

administrators in the education sector, knew about Nigerian teachers, many did not recognize anything called “TAC” or a Nigerian “volunteer” program.

Selection

Findings reveal that both the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteer programs have selection processes on two levels, one in the sending country headquarters, and one at the country-level; however, the distinctive makeup of the selection “committees” in each program is noteworthy and revelatory.

Peace Corps recruiters and nominators are typically generalists. Interviews are conducted one-on-one for about an hour and focus primarily on the prospective volunteer’s commitment and ability to spend two years working and living in a culturally-foreign and geographically-distant environment. The Namibia Ministry of Education is minimally involved in the selection of Peace Corps teaching volunteers. This appeared to be connected to trust and a heightened sense of quasi-indigenous skill of the U.S. Peace Corps teaching volunteer. As one former Peace Corps/Namibia administrator noted of Peace Corps Volunteers,

Given the fact that Americans are, their mother tongue is English, their level of education in science and math is far much stronger compared to even a qualified teacher in Namibia. So we try to take advantage of those skills and knowledge that volunteers have. So of course a Namibian teacher can say, you are giving us a non-qualified teacher, but if you compare the two, it only takes maybe six months for this volunteer to adapt but after that, you cannot even compare to most of the teachers. (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12)

On the other hand, there were clear guidelines mandating that Nigerian volunteers be fully qualified and experienced. Nigeria Technical Aid Corps volunteers are selected by a panel of academics, professionals, and specialists in the field of education, after a relatively short but formal and intense interview probing their qualifications and

commitment in Nigeria. The Namibia Ministry of Education then screens TAC teaching volunteers identified by the TAC Directorate and has the final authority about which TAC volunteers are invited to enter Namibia. Regional and school-level officials were less clear or in consensus about the requirements for selection.

While the U.S. Peace Corps typically sends a somewhat static number of volunteers to Namibia each year (PC/N Interview, 11/16/12), Nigeria TAC deploys only the number of volunteers directly requested by the Namibia Ministry of Education at any given time. On the other hand, an individual will only be nominated to become a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer if there is an apparent appropriate fit for deployment. An individual is selected as a Nigeria TAC volunteer, however, without consideration of immediate availability of placement in any particular country.

Placement

Peace Corps considers a wide range of factors and involves a diversity of actors, including individual volunteers, in the site placement process. The process is also extensive and dynamic, with various checks and balances in apparent attempts to manage expectations and optimize compliance with requirements. Peace Corps/Namibia staff travels to schools to conduct orientations and other site development activities. On the other hand, findings reveal that TAC relies on the Namibia Ministry of Education to structure and manage the entire placement process. One school principal characterized the Peace Corps placement process as “grassroots,” contrasting with the more “top-down approach” of the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps process (R3/S2 Principal Interview, 1/22/13).

It was also noted that the Peace Corps/Namibia placement process was more aligned with the school calendar than TAC/Namibia. TAC typically sent teaching volunteers to Namibia in June, which is a month or so into the second of three school terms. The U.S. Peace Corps deploys education volunteers along a timeline more coordinated with the Namibian school calendar. Peace Corps teaching volunteers arrive in Namibia during the third school term, however, much of their time is spent in Pre-Service Training. They are not expected to assume their full assignment at the schools until the beginning of the next school year.

Orientation

Orientation activities varied dramatically between the two programs. The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps conducts a massive week-long orientation for all selected volunteers at the end of the recruitment period each two years. The activities are primarily lecture-based and designed to prepare them for the general challenges and opportunities of deployment abroad as a professional educator and Nigeria quasi-ambassador. South-South cooperation was distinctly addressed in the context of TAC and its goals. There are no formal or substantive orientation activities beyond that exercise. There is, however, a week-long informal preparation week when TAC volunteers arrive in Namibia. The predominant comments about minimal orientation focused on the technical expertise of TAC volunteers, their age and maturity, as well as their perceived cultural familiarity with the Namibian environment as fellow Black Africans. Each of these rationales, however, proved problematic, as the technical expertise did not always easily translate into the Namibian school context and there was more cultural estrangement than

expected. Many volunteers, principals, and TAC officials suggested that more direct orientation was welcomed.

The Peace Corps/Namibia program, on the other hand, included over three months of structured training in language, Namibian culture, teaching, health and safety, and administrative details and logistics. During Pre-Service Training (PST), there was also a short preliminary site acclimatization visit for Volunteers and a brief orientation for supervisors of Peace Corps volunteers, typically principals and heads of departments. In addition, there was on-going professional development and training for the volunteers, as well as selected workshop opportunities for counterparts at schools where Peace Corps volunteers were placed.

Table 10. Primary Topics – PC and TAC Pre-Service Training and Orientation

U.S. Peace Corps	Nigeria Technical Aid Corps
1. Technical 2. Language 3. Cross-Cultural 4. Health-Medical	1. Volunteer Roles, Rights, Responsibility, and Reception 2. Socio-Economic Development 3. Nigerian Foreign Policy, TAC, and South-South Cooperation 4. Technical Training

Table 10 ranks the primary topics in Peace Corps and TAC training as evident by the number of devoted hours or the number of explicit sessions facilitated during the formal training period. As shown in the table, there was little in common between the primary themes and topics raised in core Peace Corps training/preparation and those in Nigeria TAC training. The amount of technical training provided to TAC volunteers was minimal. TAC “technical training” was primarily limited to attention on the importance

of ICT in the classroom and in teaching. Also, TAC volunteers received some “cross-cultural” training through lectures about host-country reception and adapting to new environments. Other than that, the TAC “curriculum” when juxtaposed with the Peace Corps plan appeared to suggest cultural familiarity between “developing countries.” This is especially noted through focused attention on the need to understand socio-economic realities and TAC’s role in acknowledging and addressing related challenges. In addition, TAC spent no formal or explicit time on language, health, and medical.

Indigenization

Exploration of program indigenization focused on volunteer assignments, and volunteer monitoring and support activities. Through interviews and document analysis, it was clear that Nigeria TAC volunteers and U.S. Peace Corps volunteers were differentially integrated into the local school communities. This finding was clearly observed in their expected and reported roles in the classroom and school, which appear to be related to their teaching backgrounds as well as to differential monitoring and support systems. In general, the TAC volunteers were more easily recognized as full teachers in the classroom, while the Peace Corps volunteers were more likely to be connected to different parts of the school and surrounding communities. There was also considerably more proactive monitoring and support activities for Peace Corps volunteers than for TAC volunteers.

Volunteer Assignments

Volunteer assignments varied in that TAC volunteers were typically full-time teachers and began teaching immediately upon arrival. There were selected instances of

confusion about the actual role and expected teaching loads for TAC volunteers. In general, however, it was a straightforward placement of an experienced teacher into the classroom. TAC volunteers did not typically engage in much work outside of classroom teaching in mathematics and science. When extra-curricular or co-curricular activities were reported by TAC volunteers, they typically involved Christian outreach and sports.

Peace Corps volunteer assignments were a bit more flexible. Findings reveal that Peace Corps volunteers were expected and trained to be involved in both primary and secondary projects related to teaching and community outreach. Volunteers served as teachers, but assumed smaller teaching workloads. In the majority of cases, respondents reported that Peace Corps Volunteers embraced athletics, health projects, gender initiatives, gardening, library activities, and out-of-school time English tutoring.

The juxtaposition of the programs within Namibia and within particular teaching environments magnified their distinctions, especially in terms of the expectations and activities of volunteers. This sometimes created tension and influenced the host country expectations of TAC teaching volunteers, many wanting the TAC volunteers to more pervasively initiate and engage in additional projects and investments like Peace Corps volunteers. It also impacted critiques of local Namibian teachers, who when seen in contrast to Peace Corps volunteers, were observed as not doing enough.

Monitoring

Analysis reveals that U.S. Peace Corps has much more active visitation and assessment of volunteer placements than the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps. Teaching volunteers from both programs were reportedly subjected to the same school and regional monitoring system as full-time local teachers. Peace Corps/Namibia, however,

conducted site visits and required regular formal evaluations of the work of their teaching volunteers. Returned Peace Corps volunteers consistently reported at least one visit from Peace Corps/Namibia staff during their first year. TAC Namibia officials or representatives reportedly only visited or intervened when significant problems arose.

Support

Findings reveal that there are a substantial number of individuals and processes involved in the support of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers in the field. A large in-country staff in the Peace Corps/Namibia main office, or “post,” along with various peer support teams, served to potentially steer away challenge and also respond to issues as they arose. In addition, some of the in-service training activities for Peace Corps volunteers were extended to local Namibian teacher counterparts or individuals designated to attend. Support given to Nigeria TAC volunteers was significantly less than that provided to PCVs. There was an appointed TAC volunteer liaison to manage communication between volunteers and between the TAC office. Otherwise, any interventions or contact between TAC volunteers, TAC host sites/schools, and the TAC office or Nigerian High Commission took place in response to a stated problem or crisis. TAC volunteers periodically met with TAC officials, however, to collect their stipends.

Various national officials in Namibia discussed the relative host-country “burden” between Peace Corps and TAC. One respondent claimed,

it’s much easier and cheaper to deal with a Peace Corps Volunteer, than it is to deal with a TAC volunteer, because a TAC volunteer would be somebody that is coming from a family background, where you have your wife, your kids, your husband and everything else, you know. And you come into this environment,

have to adjust and maybe you have left your family behind, and all those things, the kids, you know the worries and things that we get. (MOE Interview, 12/7/12)

Whereas accommodation challenges were routinely mentioned in interviews and published materials about TAC in Namibia, housing issues were rarely mentioned as a problem in discussions about Peace Corps teaching volunteers. Some interviews actually contrasted the problems with TAC housing with the willingness of Peace Corps volunteers to adjust to wherever they were placed. A national Ministry of Education official attributed the housing flexibility to age, noting, “Young people are very...these guys, if you, you know Peace Corps, if you are still, try to look around, you will find somebody has pitched a tent. To them, that’s fine” (MOE Interview, 12/7/12).

The details of Peace Corps’ housing requirements were much more extensive and descriptive than those provided for TAC. Peace Corps officials outline and preemptively secure housing conditions required for volunteers, clearly detailing what is acceptable and what is not. The TAC program and the Namibia Ministry of Education simply required that TAC housing be “suitable.” Problems arose with Peace Corps housing, but it was typically minimal and easily resolved by referring back to a checklist and contract. TAC problems with housing arose from massive conflict over the definition of “suitable.” It is possible that the minimal attention to housing for Nigerian volunteers reflected the idea of cultural familiarity. Nigerian teachers were sometimes placed within the same housing units as Namibian teachers without any additional or special amenities.

Summary

Findings revealed that there were striking similarities in the program mission and objectives and in the bilateral agreements governing the projects. In addition, political

interests along with considerations of mutual benefit were evident within both programs. Findings also revealed clear ideological differences which contributed to stark contrasts in program operations, volunteer background, and volunteer activities in the field, suggesting geopolitical hierarchies. While the U.S. Peace Corps did not overtly identify as a representative of a specific geopolitical region, the Nigeria TAC consciously and consistently operated under the guise of a South-South cooperative. TAC Namibia was distinctively: 1)an assertion of solidarity within the Black African diaspora; 2)highly centered on specific expertise; 3)based on principles of joint ownership; and 4)top-down in management. Peace Corps Namibia was 1)seen and projected as sharing a “model” or “reference” culture, particularly in regards to youth and education, 2)a critical asset for English language proficiency, 3)flexible and more considerate of cultural exchange and professional development, than on distinct professional expertise; and 4)community-centered in management.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION AND AGENDA FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This dissertation classified international teaching volunteer programs as foreign aid and objects of cross-national educational transfer. Utilizing a four-stage model of educational borrowing, the research investigated key policies, processes, and practices of two international teaching volunteer programs. This dissertation explored the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps(TAC) and the United States Peace Corps teaching volunteer programs in Namibia, and examined whether revealed similarities and differences may be attributed to their geo-political identities as part of the global South or the global North. As part of the analytical tools, key tenets and prominent theories of South-South cooperation were applied during data analysis in coding and interpretation of findings.

Throughout the study, there were warnings that the two programs were not truly comparable. The cautions came primarily from senior government officials from Namibia and the U.S. Some comments fueled the suggestion that an American aid initiative could not be seriously measured up against a Nigerian project, even though such was not the actual focus of the research. Others raised the notions of pragmatics and ethics, confused about how a recipient country could actually have the means and audacity to also be a donor. Another scholar on South-South Cooperation contends that problematic expectations and conclusions arise when foreign aid and development cooperation between countries in the global South are judged by the same terms and standards as more traditional aid relationships (Mawdsley, 2012). The G-77 even cautions that South-South cooperation is not to be compared to traditional aid

relationships and programs, but to be viewed as distinctive. Through preliminary research, however, there appeared to be enough evidence to afford a practical and feasible study, albeit multi-layered and complex, as outlined in the preceding chapters. During the course of the research, actual differences did indeed surface; findings reveal that the philosophies underlying the two projects are very distinct. Still, the commonalities in goals and stated mission support the validity of the comparative study. The differences did not support the notion of fundamental asymmetry; rather, the differences emerged as a critical foundation for analysis. The distinctions in Namibia's attraction to each program lead to very different operations and reception, affecting each subsequent stage of the borrowing framework. More evidence supporting the comparability of the two programs emerges from regional and school-level perceptions that the programs are similar. At times, a universal definition of "volunteer" was apparent in conversations about Peace Corps and TAC members. Other times, a more narrow expectation of "volunteer teacher" surfaced in conversations.

As mentioned earlier, the fundamentals of South-South cooperation are somewhat rooted in a type of binary against the West, which appears to resonate with philosophies espoused in post-colonial studies. The binary is a bit loose because post-colonial theory suggests that such new thought and initiatives should stand beside rather than in contrast to earlier knowledge systems and projects. Post-colonial philosophy attempts to deconstruct symbols, status differentials, and even institutional structures that fostered colonial-era control. As a type of post-colonial enterprise, South-South cooperation appears to reclaim and redistribute symbolic and real power through "alternative" forms of foreign aid relationships. Such alternatives attempt to contest traditionally-Western

ways of seeing things or a linear conceptualization of development. Findings from this study reveal that although members of the global South sometimes identify as “developing countries,” the boundaries and opportunities of such a development status are not completely linear or at the opposing end of a spectrum. As such, there is no inherent question or contradiction in a “developing” country gearing to support the development of another “developing” country. The initiatives and undergirding philosophies can be somewhat understood by mainstream social science theories, however, they are not firmly rooted as such. Rather, they represent a grassroots form of action and meaning and sometimes reveal contradictions when actualized, as shown in earlier studies.

In addition to contributing empirical evidence to post-colonial studies, this research also applies a challenge to studies of cross-national transfer, namely policy-borrowing and lending. In planning the study, I sought to understand the full policy cycle, beginning from the introduction of a policy to the actual policy in-practice. This required a very wide scope and a broad set of questions. As a result, I chose to utilize existing educational borrowing and lending theories to help frame and answer the questions. Typical policy borrowing and lending studies and models, including the Philips & Ochs model used in this study, focus specifically on policies which move or appear to move from one country to another. When policies are borrowed, in frameworks such as the Phillips & Ochs model which validate actor-agency, key policy actors in a respective country are making a decision to transplant something from a foreign educational system that they feel may work in their national educational environment. My study was not an examination of borrowed policies. This research is unique in that

the primary focal points of examination are policies that promote the movement of human resources, or more specifically, professionals. It would stand to reason that if the model could effectively analyze the movement of an idea, analysis of the movement of people could benefit from the lens as well. Factors related to political context, agency, donor logic, discourse, and actualization, factors considered in policy-borrowing, were all relevant in this study.

The “experiment” to use an amended Phillips and Ochs model proved useful yet also revealed shortcomings in the feasibility of the framework as a stand-alone tool for analyzing the cross-national transfer of people and programs. It was important to incorporate earlier critiques in specific stages, such as Rappleye’s addition of additional impulses and the sensitivity to issues of conflict and resistance into the attraction stage. It was also imperative that additional theories related to the transferred program be utilized and layered on top of the four-stage framework. The meanings of policy “implementation” or policy “indigenization” have little constructive meaning otherwise. These adjustments needed to be made by the researcher utilizing respective literature, in this case, research on international volunteer programs.

The framework was strong in that it offered a broad foundation upon which to explore multiple factors and processes of transfer and borrowing. A full picture emerged of the transfer phenomenon; however, it is unclear if the picture was complete. The strength of the whole model was also especially difficult to test in a relatively short dissertation study in which all four stages were examined. The attraction phase, as mentioned before, contains depth that would merit full attention all by itself in a dissertation-type project, even one focused solely on a single case of policy-transfer. The

impulses and conditions for attraction may also change over a given period of study, creating four stages that are less one-way and circular and much more dynamic. As findings reveal in this study, the differences in attraction led to very different implementation and indigenization processes. As mentioned earlier, Rappleye (2007) is one scholar who applies and critiques the attraction stage of the Phillips & Ochs model and adopts sensitivities raised in work by Gita Steiner-Khamisi (2004) especially in regards to actor choice and political context. His findings lead him to add infrastructure, obstacles, and human agency as central considerations in attraction. He also notes that attraction is a product of both internal and external forces. Finally, he suggests that attraction should be viewed as dynamic and considered at each subsequent stage. Additional applied research and adapted modeling are recommended in order to develop an optimal borrowing tool that builds on the strengths of policy-borrowing yet which incorporates the unique elements of cross-national program transfer and cross-national transfer of human resources.

This chapter continues with a discussion of key concepts and challenges to South-South cooperation raised through this study, followed by an agenda for further research.

Geopolitical Identities

In regards to self-assessment of geopolitical identity, the U.S. Peace Corps had few overt references to being a “Northern” or “Western” or even “traditional” aid program. Respondents and data consistently showed, however, that the Peace Corps was recognized as an experienced, “established,” or “mature” program with a long history. The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, in contrast, was clearly and continuously framed in numerous archival records and through interviews as an international volunteer service

(IVS) project from the “global South.” Both Namibian and Nigerian respondents categorized Nigeria as a “Southern” donor. This self-defined positioning impacted their encounters with Namibian stakeholders at every level - government officials, school administrators, and teachers - both consciously and unconsciously. Four key features often attributed to South-South cooperative initiatives were observable within this study: horizontal partnership, specialized technical support, mutual benefit, and joint ownership. The most vivid distinctions of the South-South initiative with “traditional aid” programs related to the horizontal partnership and the focus on technical expertise. The technical focus created potential challenges, however, which I explore below. More ambiguous in the findings were concepts of joint ownership and mutual benefit.

Horizontal Partnerships

This study suggests that a global hierarchy is evident and both promoted and supported by foreign aid projects. The study also suggests that elements of the South-South cooperation model may challenge the hierarchical model of aid, rhetorically, in policy, and in practice. Horizontal partnerships exist when there is an apparent equivalence of power and value. There may also be a system by which “partners” manage equivalence by focusing on areas of competitive advantage.

The U.S. image as a “model state”, or “reference society” (Schriewer & Martinez, 2004) was promoted through the initial angst to “be the first” and bring in the best of the Peace Corps community to help at independence. The deference of Namibia to the U.S. to create a locally-incompatible definition of “qualified teacher” also suggests reinforcement of a sense of superiority of the American education system. Respondents at various levels explicitly made such claims. Only a minority of Namibian respondents

presented any concerns about the service of non-credentialed teaching volunteers in their secondary schools. Such a seemingly indifferent position stands in contrast to findings of Williams(2008) in a study examining foreign aid policy in the East African country of Kenya. As mentioned earlier, Williams' study revealed that while Kenya initially accepted international teaching volunteer programs without regulation of the recruitment criteria, the government eventually passed a policy which required minimum qualification standards. The policy played a role in instigating the temporary phase-out of non-credentialed Peace Corps teaching volunteers in Kenya's secondary schools.

On the other hand, the South-South concept of horizontal partnerships was apparent in how TAC volunteer teachers were evaluated in recruitment and selection. Teaching volunteers from Nigeria were held to the same standard for professional qualifications as local Namibians. While there were problems with the content knowledge and pedagogical techniques demonstrated by two volunteers within the five regions targeted in this study (a very small minority), no respondent or data indicated that the TAC volunteer teachers did not meet the basic qualification standards.

Upon examining the two volunteer programs comparatively, there were sliding definitions of teacher "quality" and teacher "qualification" between them, negating notions of equivalence. Many host country stakeholders, at various levels, also based their definition of "qualified teacher" on the country of citizenship of a given volunteer. This was especially striking because of the aggressive reform efforts currently underway in Namibia's teacher training program. Power dynamics, English language proficiency goals, and mythology of Western education appear to help explain these differences. As Namibia continues to reform, one would expect, however, an increasing or more

prominent tension between legitimate merit and enchantment with Western institutions, educational processes, and objects overall.

Joint Ownership

Joint ownership in aid may be classified as the donor and recipient having relatively equivalent and significant power in the distribution and reception of aid. One sign of significant power-sharing is the principle of non-interference by the donor in local affairs once the aid is given. The potential for full joint ownership appeared most evident in the South-South cooperative initiative, because while the donor presented a specific aid product, 1) the recipient was responsible for the final screening and decision to accept the aid product; and 2) the recipient was given the discretion for the local management of the aid product during service. In the South-South project, there was minimal external presence by aid providers in the host country, leaving matters of management to the aid recipient. Findings also raise debate, however, about whether lack of involvement or engagement is associated with true non-interference philosophies or with project mismanagement and organizational immaturity.

Local/Namibian involvement within Peace Corps operations may also be construed as a form of ownership; however, it appears more appropriately classified as participation without power. Peace Corps is a U.S. government agency that observes U.S. government leadership and priorities. The U.S. Peace Corps post in Namibia has a majority-Namibian staff, in terms of numbers. Employees, nonetheless, are working for the donor government. It is unclear whether and how local staff impact training curricula, operations, or partnership goals. There is substantial community-level involvement in Peace Corps/Namibia operations in regard to developing potential sites.

This practice also falls short of being considered “joint ‘ownership’.” The ultimate decision, especially for which schools are approved to receive Peace Corps volunteers, falls squarely on the U.S. Peace Corps. Also, throughout the service period, there is still hovering management and support of the volunteer by Peace Corps/Namibia that may push aside true local ownership.

The Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, on the other hand, does not officially have a Namibia “post” and defers to Namibian decisions on most matters related to who serves, where they serve, and what and how they serve. There does not, however, appear to be the requisite communication across Namibia’s multiple stakeholder levels to understand and apply this reality. As such, there are absolute risks involved in such deference, but Namibian ownership in the process is indisputable. Challenges arise in determining which Namibian stakeholder communities and levels can truly claim ownership. The study reveals that the ownership of the TAC project is directed primarily by national-level policy-makers and educational leadership. There was consistent confusion about program practices and policies among regional and school administrators. As discussed by Samoff(2009), true ownership of foreign aid projects in recipient countries typically remains at the government level and is actually elusive to the masses.

True ownership of human resources in a volunteer-based aid relationship is also a complicated claim because the individual volunteer has agency and free will which may not conform to the vision of the donor or recipient.

Mutual benefit

Mutual benefit surfaces frequently in discussions of South-South cooperation, again in contrast to cooperation between the West and the South. From a world systems

theory viewpoint, industrialized countries tend to be exploitative, basing their prosperity on the necessary underdevelopment of countries within the global South (Clayton, 1998). The current concept of mutual benefit, however, is somewhat subjective and ambiguous. Mutual benefit can clearly be rationalized from both Namibia's Southern and Northern partners within this study. Political science and foreign policy experts declare that "mutual benefit is one of the generally accepted principles and purposes of foreign aid" (Ibrahim, 2010, p.39). Donor self-interest is a concept which suggests that "development assistance promotes the economic or political interests of the donor country" (Oche, 2010, p.15). This theory appears to hold true for countries, regardless of developmental status or geopolitical identity. Geographer Emma Mawdsley(2011) draws out a distinction by theorizing that in South-South cooperation lingo, mutual benefit is meant to symbolize "equal partners pursuing mutually beneficial interactions based on shared identities and experiences" (p.266). The shared identities in this case are held by Namibia and Nigeria and include: recently decolonized, formerly racially-oppressed, African, and developing nations. As mentioned in archival records gathered in this research, the TAC-Namibia partnership is based on areas of competitive advantage. A single Joint Cooperation Agreement between Namibia and Nigeria is in place and is revisited every few years to update ways to mutually support one another. The research did not readily reveal such a centralized and formal documentation of cooperative agreements between the U.S. and Namibia.

Technical Support

In her discussion of the "symbolic regimes of emerging aid," Mawdsley (2011) highlights "specific expertise in appropriate development" as a distinctive characteristic

feature of development assistance from non-traditional donors (p.16). It is estimated that TAC's focus on technical support is meant to be sensitive to the needs of Namibia to manage its own progress and capacity building. The expertise was evident through the specific parameters delineated in partnership agreements. The study suggests, however, that over-reaching ideas of globalization and regional identity challenged perceptions of effectiveness.

Perceptions of globalization. This dissertation revealed that by focusing on professional expertise and mutual ownership, the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps program is designed to apply conceptions of aid that may translate more smoothly to the technical and local context in Namibia than traditional aid programs like the U.S. Peace Corps. As examined in this study, however, the translation falls somewhat short of the goal primarily because of the limits of globalization in education. Policies and practices indicate that TAC assumed the existence of a singular, worldwide education system and structure. The shortcomings of this view were particularly evident in curricula and classroom management.

Within the TAC model, the disciplines of mathematics and science were construed as universal. The emphasis on technical support without hefty consideration of local context overlooked differences in the actual curricula of Nigeria and Namibia. The emphasis on the professional experience of Nigeria TAC volunteers also overlooked distinctions between the local education systems and local protocols within Nigeria and Namibia. The phrase I created for this observation is pragmatic-idealism, which I explain in the following section.

Pragmatic-idealism. While idealism clearly dominates the attraction and localization of the Peace Corps and pragmatism prevails as the more appropriate descriptor of the Technical Aid Corps program, a closer analysis reveals more complexity and nuance. There are bits of both philosophies in both programs. Instead of a clean dichotomy of pragmatism and idealism, an apparent mixture of what I am coining pragmatic-idealism seems to emerge in understanding the Southern-sponsored foreign teaching volunteer program. There is a sense that if the technical specifics are addressed (the pragmatics), then all of the other elements that construct an effective development assistance relationship will naturally fall into place, specifically for a sister-country partnership (which is very idealistic). This pragmatic-idealism was proven sometimes problematic within the target regions and country of study.

There has been an over-emphasis on the pragmatic at the surface, in scrutinizing academic qualifications and focusing on local professional knowledge. The concepts of mathematics and sciences as global constants are also over-simplified, especially in light of localized curricula and learning objectives/standards. When the foreign teaching volunteers and the local communities finally do interact and intersect, confusion is likely and highly probable. Without considering the appropriate elements of detail and management for foreign management projects, many stakeholders are at risk of suffering unmet expectations, indignations, and rampant misunderstandings. The Nigerian is indeed foreign in Namibia, in terms of language and culture, professional readiness, and environment. Each of these elements merits explicit attention from both the “donor” and “recipient” countries in training, orientation, and program management.

This feeds into my final point of analysis before I offer agendas for further research.

Perceptions of cultural familiarity. Another distinction of South-South cooperation revealed in this study and found to be problematic is the over-reaching philosophy of cultural familiarity. Part of the challenges stem from the difficulty in defining what is meant by “culture.” While this study was unable to delve deeply into the specifics of acculturation for individual volunteers, enough data was offered to provide constructive insight. On some levels and within particular regions, Nigeria TAC was and is perceived to be more culturally-sensitive than the one imported by the U.S. Peace Corps. The findings in this study, however, are not consistent and challenge the guiding notions of cultural familiarity across sub-Saharan Africa. Findings revealed that while points of cultural intersect were found, many respondents reported unequivocally that Nigeria and Namibia are very much culturally-estranged. Here is where some of the confusion around concepts of Pan-Africanism is also raised. This also represents evidence of the ongoing tension between unity and diversity, on continental, regional, and diasporic levels.

The notion of cultural familiarity was illustrated through the differential preparations extended to Nigerian TAC and U.S. Peace Corps volunteers planning to enter Namibia’s education sector. TAC teaching volunteers received relatively minimal orientation and training. The philosophy of cultural familiarity appeared to under-prepare Nigerians for their work in Namibia. At times it also led to frustration on the part of both the volunteers and their hosts, even though in most cases, it worked out overall by the end of service. Perceptions of cultural familiarity were also suggested in differential attention

to housing for the two programs. While more pre-emptive project management and general oversight could have been the reason for more satisfactory living facilities for Peace Corps, the thought that other Africans would be fine with basic, un-amended Namibian facilities was also undergirding the actions.

It should be noted that many of the key tenets of South-South Cooperation as laid out by the G-77 and the UN Special Unit on South-South Cooperation have recent counterparts in global aid effectiveness agendas. As mentioned earlier, the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the 2008 Accra Agenda for Action, for example, highlight ownership, inclusive partnerships, mutual accountability, and capacity development as areas for growth. Given such parallels and with more time invested in projects from the Southern donor side, there may be elements yet to learn from South-South Cooperation initiatives in terms of the challenges and successes in actualizing such principles on a more global scale. This would require a more conscious and deliberate effort to include the experiences of Southern donors in mainstream, or Western, research on foreign aid and development assistance. Mawdsley(2012) notes that while a few Southern donors have signed on to the Paris declaration, others like Brazil, for example, explicitly refuse to join because of claims it still symbolizes elements of power and domination of thought, structure, and policy imposed by the West.

Agenda for Further Research

One of the limitations of a multi-level, multi-site study involves the challenge in delving into any single element. As noted through a review of the literature on educational borrowing, each element of the four-stage model of borrowing can thoroughly be explored through follow-up and more in-depth investigation. A more in-

depth of study on indigenization, for example, would require more time and allow observation of the teaching styles of foreign volunteers within host country classrooms to determine if there is a patterned distinction. The research could then focus on how local schools and teachers and even learners may have been impacted by the presence of the foreign teaching style, products, or methodologies. Examinations of that particular stage of borrowing could explore the long-term impact of the foreign teaching volunteers on host country teaching and learning. How far does indigenization go in a host country? Once a foreign teaching volunteer leaves a host country and school, what about the foreign teacher remains?

Outside of remaining within the borrowing model and narrowing the stage of interest, there are multiple areas for further research directly influenced by the findings of this study. A few simply build on the findings and probe new questions, while other research directions interrogate key findings from a different perspective. Below I outline six opportunities for study that are inspired by the findings of this dissertation.

South-South Cooperation and Gift Theory

This dissertation raises questions about the inherent meaning of foreign aid and how various aid interventions define relationships between donors and recipients. As mentioned earlier, some scholars, applying theories of giving and reciprocity, claim that the very essence of foreign aid, as a form of giving or resource allocation, may lead to reinforcement of hierarchies (Hattori, 2001, 2003; Mawdsley, 2011).

Peace Corps/Namibia provides a variety of gifts and support to Namibia that appear to build what Pierre Bourdieu (1990) calls “symbolic domination.” Peace Corps/Namibia provides full-time employment for dozens of Namibians at the main

office. There are also varied opportunities for training and benefits for local counterparts and host families of Peace Corps volunteers. The combination and volume of rewards build a system which may amount to what anthropologist Marshall Sahlins(1972) terms, “negative reciprocity” because Namibians would be unable and are not expected to provide similar volumes and scales of returns.

On the other hand, drawing on Sahlins’ typology of resource allocation, Hattori (2001) claims that South-South cooperation may be a form of “generalized reciprocity,” where there is “ranking among equals” and in which giving presumes that there will be eventual repayment in some non-specific form or time (p.638). The Nigeria TAC provides teaching support and mitigates many of its associated costs (mainly salary and recruitment); however, it does not provide much else in direct gift or resource.

Cobbs-Hoffman(1998) claims that the U.S. “Peace Corps demonstrates that constructive relations between nations of unequal strength and resources are possible,” an assertion I do not dispute (p.259). The opportunities for symbolic domination or reinforced hierarchies are nonetheless glaring. As Hattori(2001) suggests, “what foreign aid does in a policy sense is secondary to a more basic role of naturalizing the social relation in which it arises” (p.641).

The findings of this study lead to a larger question, What is the role of extended or continuous “giving” on the reinforcement of what Hattori (2003) refers to as “material inequality” between donor and recipient?

It would also be interesting to explore how varied marketing strategies are related to theories of giving and perceptions of the aid relationship. The TAC program was very passively marketed, while the Peace Corps was very visible at home and abroad. What, if

any, are the implications of formal marketing strategies on the concept of joint ownership and horizontal partnerships? Respondents within TAC leadership stated that a conscious effort to not market the program in host countries was taken to minimize potential “embarrassment” of the aid between the countries. It is unclear if such embarrassment was forwarded as a possibility because the donor was another African country or merely because the recipient country was in the position to need donors. Was the respondent suggesting that aid recipients are made to feel inferior to a donor when the terms of the relationship are made public? In a study of Arab aid donors, Shushan and Marcoux(2011) contend that certain Arab cultural norms frown upon publicizing charity. Are there common principles which discourage active marketing within South-South cooperative initiatives? If there is a very clear and marketed donor and recipient, does a clear hierarchy naturally emerge? Is a hierarchy implicit in any relationship, even those that profess equal shares or stakes in the partnership?

Teaching of English as a Second Language

How the programs differentially promote English language proficiency also alludes to an area worthy of further study. English is the official language of Namibia, but currently not the first or even second language of most Namibians. Younger Namibians in urban areas are more versed in English based on access to popular media and simply more exposure to the English language. Teachers and older Namibians, especially in more remote areas, are more challenged by the English language, which has only been a factor for the past roughly 20 years.

The majority of the current and returned TAC volunteers reported that local Namibian reliance on home and indigenous languages in the workplace and in the

schools were impediments to mastering the English language. While TAC volunteers were not versed in the local languages of their host communities, there was clear evidence that they would not utilize the languages even if they had the proficiency. Only one interviewed Peace Corps volunteer reported reluctance to utilize local languages in the schools and communities. The volunteer reported that her purpose for being there was to help challenge individuals to improve their English language proficiency and she shared that she resisted participating in faculty room discussions in the local languages. In this case, the discussion of the appropriate strategy for fostering the learning of English as a second language becomes intriguing.

Is it better to approach English as second-language learners through their native tongue? Or is it more effective to force the second language learner to speak with the “instructor” or “guide” only in English? If the benefits of having a proficient English language speaker are to help the community with their English language skills, what is the role of knowing the local language? This relates to a previous study conducted on the use of local languages in Northern Tanzania classrooms (Webb, 2013). In that study, local language familiarity related to enforcement of respect for indigenous languages and a fostering of connections for specialized concepts especially in sciences that were hard to explain in the “foreign” language of English.

Contributions to Capacity Development

As discussed, the decision to provide foreign aid is not made lightly. Politicians, scholars, and the general public alike are often asked to substantiate the value of a particular foreign aid policy. Numerous advocates in current debates point to capacity building both in the donor and recipient countries as the primary area of benefit. Adele

Jinadu (2011), a Nigerian political science professor who recently completed a case study of TAC, claims “...no major study, other than impressionistic ones, have been carried out on the contribution of the TAC Scheme to capacity development in Nigeria and in the recipient countries” (p.25).

Quantifying and measuring the impact of foreign teaching volunteers on student achievement and performance is an ambitious but necessary and worthwhile research project. Now that rich context has been given to program operations and goals, a study that examines the degree of effectiveness of the program is in order. Are students learning anything from the foreign teaching volunteers? Is there a measurable value-add to having foreign teaching volunteers teach critical subject areas?

Contributions to capacity-development can also be examined from the vantage of the local teaching profession with the host country. Are local teachers growing in terms of pedagogy, content-knowledge, and instructional delivery as a result of the work and involvement of foreign teaching volunteers in their schools and communities?

There is an accusation that programs like TAC, send trained professionals abroad, and contribute to a critical “brain drain” in their home country. Others counter by claiming that professionals who work in foreign countries return to their home countries with broader perspective and stronger techniques to apply locally to clients and peers in their industry. What is the impact of foreign volunteer service on the respective professions of the volunteer’s home country?

Volunteer Motivations for Foreign Service

In both the case of the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps, there are potentially substantial sacrifices that go along with moving to a foreign country,

without having a choice of the destination, for two years, and possibly with less financial compensation than one could command at home. In TAC, within the context of this study, the majority of volunteers were in their mid-30s and mid-40s with spouses and children back home in Nigeria. Part VI of the TAC Handbook(n.d.) labels “TAC as a Non-Family Scheme.” The Handbook notes, “Volunteers are not allowed to take their family members to their duty posts, more especially because of the nature of their assignment, which could take them to remote places where adequate facilities may not be available” (p.16). In addition, each of the TAC volunteers interviewed for this study was gainfully employed as educators up until the point of departure. The question then surfaces, “Why?” What would motivate a well-qualified, working professional to compete for the opportunity to live in a country or environment under potentially harsher conditions and leave their families behind? What motivates an individual to seek foreign volunteer service opportunities? And from a comparative perspective, what are the similarities and differences in motivations for service differ between volunteers from the global North and volunteers from the global South?

Perceptions of Donors by Beneficiaries

While perceptions are difficult to measure, one of the objectives of both the U.S. Peace Corps and the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps is to build a positive image abroad, especially to counter prevailing negative images. Is this truly happening? While one respondent in Namibia discussed his view of the evolution of the Peace Corps through his period being taught by a Peace Corps volunteer, to working for Peace Corps, to utilizing Peace Corps volunteers, it is unclear how general images of the U.S. were impacted by such experiences. Not many negative sentiments were expressed about the U.S., though

many off-the-record comments were shared which seemed to question the willingness of the U.S. to play by the rules. How has the U.S. Peace Corps, over the past 50 years impacted perceptions of the U.S. in recipient countries?

The case of Nigeria's image is somewhat dire. Throughout the study, there were numerous generalized comments about Nigeria's inter-religious strife, crime, and government instability. There was even incredulity expressed by individuals learning for the first time that Nigeria administered such a program as TAC. In these instances, the sentiment was that TAC must be yet another demonstration of Nigeria's corruption. It was not all negative, though. There was also enthusiasm from most host country regional and school administrators about the service performed by the individual TAC volunteers. Did these volunteers or the TAC program itself help change any impressions about Nigeria? How has TAC, over the 25 years of its existence, impacted how recipient countries and direct beneficiaries view Nigeria?

Development Discourses and Critical Geopolitics

Development is a frequently used concept even though it is wrought with tensions and is a complex and ambiguous term. Scholars have argued that "the discourse of development disables analysis" (Grubbs, 2006, p. 280-281). Writing in 1986, political science professor Bahgat Korany calls development "one of the biggest controversies in contemporary social science literature" (p.3). International discourses on development largely conjure up geopolitical images of an imaginary linear continuum of progress and industrialization with countries in the global North being polar opposites of countries in the global South (Berger, 1994; Escobar, 1995; O Tuathalin, 1997). Inherent in debates about development-related terms is the questionable idea of a singular, real, or

homogeneous “West” or “Third World” or “global South” (Berger, 2004; Crush, 1995; Dirlick, 2004; Korany, 1986; Wright, 1956). The debate continues 25 years later.

Through both internal and external reinforcement of the concepts of the global North and the global South, the discourses of developing and developed countries persist as a binary of recipient and donor, respectively. The idea that countries within the global South effectively support one another in development is thus relatively unexplored and somewhat absent from mainstream, or Western, scholarly investigation on foreign assistance and development studies. There are numerous cases to examine, nonetheless. There are also established theories estimating unique approaches and impacts of such South-South cooperative initiatives. Geopolitics and aid, or the relative consideration of geography and politics in foreign assistance policy, has indeed been examined over the past decades. It surfaces in part, in examinations of what Steiner-Khamisi(2008) labels “donor logic.”

This study critically assumes and explores implications of distinctive geo-political systems in aid relationships. Such assumptions should not go unchallenged however. Critical scholarship on the continued discourses of the Third World, global South, traditional, mainstream, and Western ordering systems, for example, are important to reflect on the changing and evolving systems of relating communities and states to the world.

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APPENDIX A

TAC Volunteers and Recipient Countries
(Sources: Daura, 2010b; TAC, 2004; TAC Handbook, n.d.)

Biennium	Deployed Volunteers
1987-1990	102
1990-1992	103
1992-1994	190
1994-1996	280
1997-1999	195
1999-2001	254
2002-2004	382
2004-2006	617
2006-2008	744
2008-2010	800
2010-2012	Around 700

(Years in parentheses indicate initial deployment biennium or first time a country agreement was noted)

<u>Africa (33)</u>	<u>Caribbean (5)</u>	<u>Pacific (1)</u>
Angola (1992-94)	Belize (1992-94)	Fiji (1988-90)
ANC (Morogoro, TZ) (1992-94)	Dominica (1990-92)	
Benin (1999-01)	Guyana (1990-92)	
Burkina Faso (1990-92)	Jamaica (1988-90)	
Burundi (?)	St.Kitts & Nevis (1994-96)	
Cape Verde (1988-90)		
Central African Republic (1992-94)		
Comoros (1992-94)		
Congo – Brazzaville (?)		
Djibouti (1990-92)		
Equatorial Guinea (1988-90)		
Eritrea (?)		
Ethiopia (1999-01)		
The Gambia (1988-90)		
Ghana (1990-92)		
Guinea-Bissau (?)		
Kenya (Shelter Afrique) (1988-90)		
Lesotho (1990-92)		
Liberia (1990-92)		
Malawi (2012)		
Mozambique (1988-90)		
Namibia (1990-1992)		
Niger (1997-99)		
Sao Tome & Principe (2002-04)		
Senegal (1997-99)		
Seychelles (1988-90)		
Sierra Leone (1992-94)		
Sudan (?)		
Swaziland (1992-94)		
Rwanda (2002-04)		
Tanzania (1988-90)		
Uganda (1994-96)		
Zambia (1988-90)		

APPENDIX B

NIGERIA FEDERAL CHARACTER COMMISSION GUIDELINES

Guiding Principles and Formulae for the Distribution of all Cadres of Posts

Commencement:

In exercise of the powers conferred on it by section 4 (1) (a) of the Federal Character Commission (Establishment, Etc.) Decree No. 34 1996, the Federal Character Commission (hereinafter referred to as the ‘commission’) hereby prescribes the following Guiding principles and formulae specified hereto for the distribution of all cadres of posts in all services throughout the federation.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES AND FORMULAE

1. Each state of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory shall be equitably represented in all national constitutions and in public enterprises and organizations.
2. The best and most competent persons are recruited from each state of the Federation to fill positions reserved for the indigenes of that state or the Federal Capital Territory.
3. Once a candidate has attained the necessary minimum requirement for appointment to a position, he shall qualify to fill a relevant vacancy reserved for indigenes of his state or the Federal Capital Territory.
4. Where the number of positions available cannot go round the states of the Federation or the Federal Capital Territory, the distribution shall be on zonal basis but in the case where two positions are available, the positions shall be shared between the northern zones and the southern zones.
5. Where the indigenes of a state or the Federal Capital Territory are not able to take up all the vacancies meant for them the indigenes of any state(s) or the Federal Capital Territory within the same zone shall be given preference in filling such vacancies. Provided that where the zone to which the preference is given fails to take up such vacancy the indigenes from any other zone shall be considered for the appointment.
6. Each state shall produce 2.75 per cent of the total work force in any Federal establishment while the Federal establishment while the Federal Capital Territory shall produce 1 percent for the indigenes of the Federal Capital Territory provided that the Commission may adopt a range so that the indigenes of any state of the Federation shall not constitute less than the lower limit or more than the upper limit of the range as set out in paragraph 12(a).
7. In the case of distribution on Zonal basis the Commission shall adopt another range such that the indigenes of a particular zone shall not constitute less than the lower limit or more than the upper limit of the range as set out in paragraph 12(b)
8. The six zones shall each consist of the following, that is

- a. North Central: Benue , Federal Capital Territory, Kogi Kwara, Nassarawa Niger, Plateau.
 - b. North East: Adamawa, Bauch, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, Yobe
 - c. North West: Jigawa, Kaduan, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Zamfara;
 - d. South East: Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo;
 - e. South South: Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, River;
 - f. South West: Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun Ondo, Osun, Oyo.
9. Depending on the number of states within each zone, the Commission shall adopt three ranges such that the indigenes of any state within a zone shall not constitute less than the lower limit or more than the upper limit of the range applicable to the zone as set out in paragraph 12(c).

(Source: <http://federalcharacter.gov.ng/guidingprinciple.php> retrieved 12/6/12)

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PROFESSIONAL BODIES USUALLY ENGAGED BY TAC FOR
INTERVIEWS AND ORIENTATION EXERCISES

- Nigeria Medical Association (NMA)
- Pharmaceutical Society of Nigeria (PSM)
- Serving and Retired Diplomats
- Engineering Society of Nigeria
- Institute of Quantity Surveyors (IQS)
- Nigeria Investment Promotion Council (NIPC)
- Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT)
- Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU)
- Serving Foreign Envoys in Nigeria Particularly from Recipient Countries
- Nigeria Bar Association (NBA)
- National Directorate of Employment (NDC)
- Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN)
- National Institute of Architects

(received 10/2012, TAC Directorate, Abuja)

APPENDIX D

ORIGINAL INVITATION LETTER FROM NAMIBIA TO PEACE CORPS

REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORT

PRIVATE BAG 13186

WINDHOEK

TELEPHONE: 221327, 221328, 221329 - (061)

FAX: 061-36326

28 March, 1990

The Honourable Paul D. Coverdell

Director

United States Peace Corps

Washington, D.C. 20526

Dear Sir,

Re: PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS FOR NAMIBIA

Following discussions we had with Mr Lloyd Pierson, your Peace Corps Director in the Republic of Botswana, I have the honour to write to you formally in order to inform you that the Government of the Republic of Namibia will be grateful to receive Peace Corps volunteers in the field of education and youth skills development programmes.

We are keen to enter into negotiations with your organization in order to determine the modus operandi for the Peace Corps Programme in Namibia.

Looking forward to hear from you at your earliest convenient opportunity.

Yours sincerely,



NAHAS ANGULA
MINISTER OF EDUCATION,
CULTURE & SPORT

APPENDIX E

SCHOOL REQUEST LETTER FOR TAC VOLUNTEERS

Attention [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] High School

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Namibia

Tel. [REDACTED]

Fax [REDACTED]

E-mail: [REDACTED]

17 January 2008

The Regional Director
Ministry of Education
Private Bag [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Attention: The Circuit Inspector

Dear Colleague

REQUEST FOR TWO NIGERIAN VOLUNTEER TEACHERS

In pursuance of a staff and school board decision, we herewith most urgently request your good office to grant us the much-needed assistance of two volunteers, one for mathematics and one for physical science.

As you are aware, our school has been struggling to fill the Head of Department post for this very department.

We had two young, inexperienced teachers appointed in May 2007 in our science department. We do not have any equipped teacher to guide them.

Our results in these two subjects are major reasons for concern. Nigeria is ranked number two in Africa for their education system in Africa, out of 53 countries.

Our school has decent accommodation available as the principal's house is available to house our two prospective colleagues. The school board in principle accepted the responsibility to provide whatever is needed in the house to ensure our prospective colleagues are happy. The house will be available by the end of January 2008, according to [REDACTED], current occupier.

We therefore appeal to you to come to our rescue.

I remain yours in education always!

[REDACTED]

PRINCIPAL

recd 29 Nov 2012